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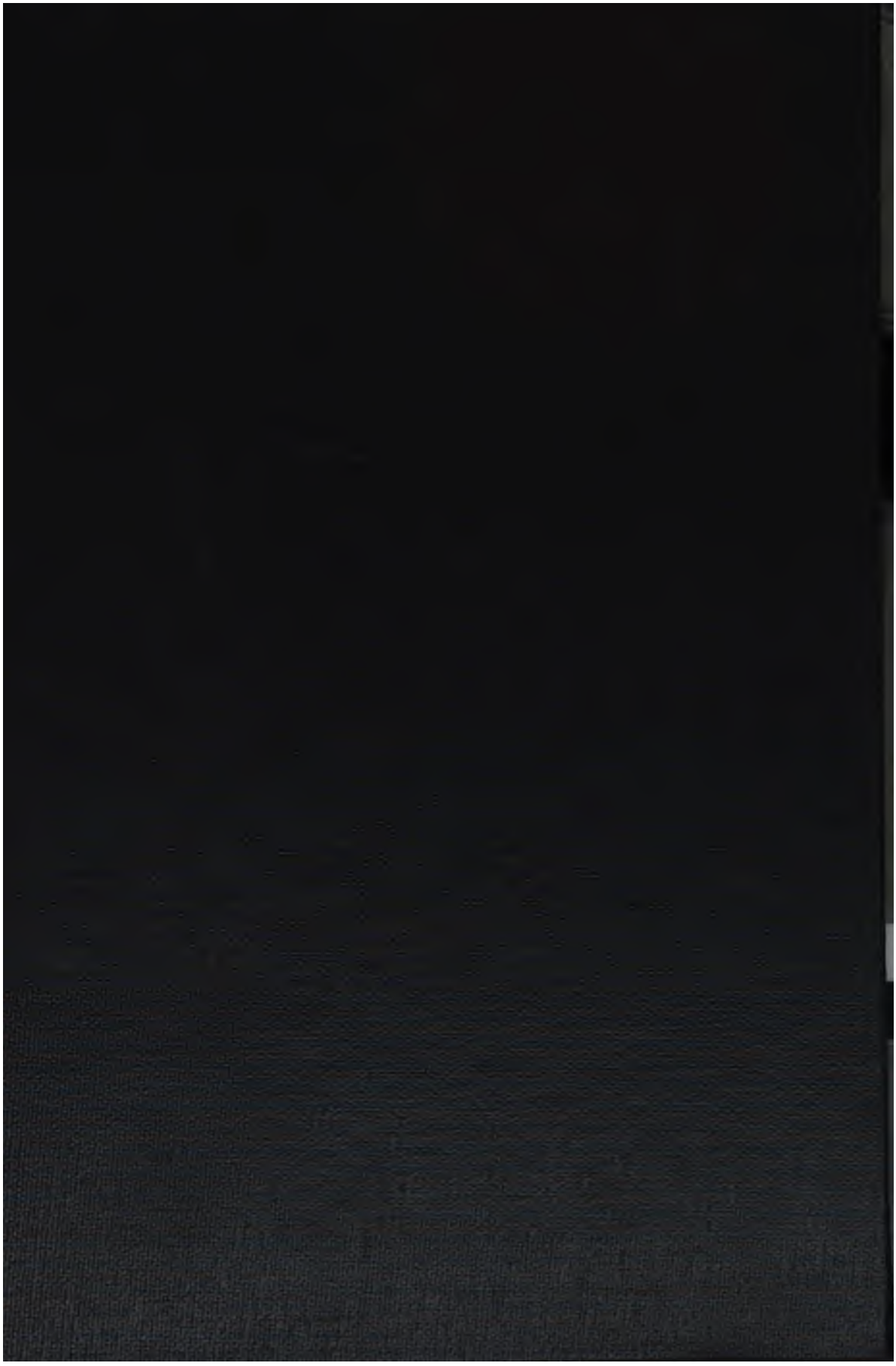

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DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

THE THREE LITERARY LETTERS

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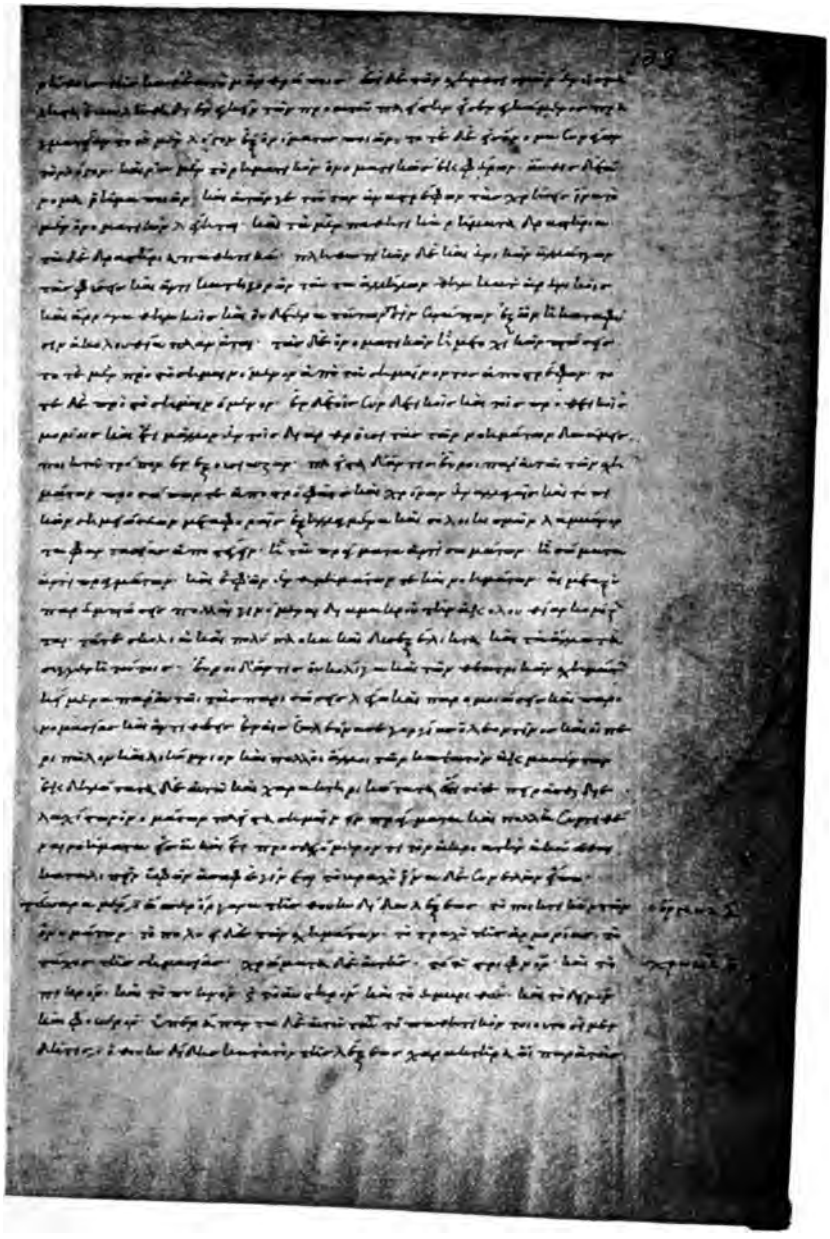

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Frontispiece.

GULIELMO GEORGIO RUSHBROOKE

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PARATISSIMO AMICORVM

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

THE THREE LITERARY LETTERS

(EP. AD AMMAEUM I, EP. AD POMPEIUM, EP. AD AMMAEUM II)

THE GREEK TEXT EDITED

WITH

ENGLISH TRANSLATION, FACSIMILE, NOTES, GLOSSARY OF RHETORICAL AND GRAMMATICAL TERMS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON DIONYSIUS AS A LITERARY CRITIC

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is designed on the same general plan as the edition of 'Longinus on the Sublime' which was published by the Cambridge University Press in 1899. *The Syndics have undertaken to issue presently, in a similar form, the Greek treatise (not hitherto edited in England) known as 'Demetrius* de Elocutione'*; and I hope that the three companion volumes may be followed in due time by two works of larger scope—a new critical and annotated edition of the* Rhetoric *of Aristotle, and a* History of Greek Literary Criticism.

A common purpose underlies the series of books thus projected. Many as are the aspects under which the ancient classics have been studied, no sufficiently resolute and comprehensive effort seems yet to have been made to view Greek literature through the eyes of Greek critics. These critics have much that is common to them all: they have also much that is individual in each. In common they possess the power, which a modern can never hope fully to attain, of appreciating the most delicate shades of Greek literary expression. Their individuality is sufficiently seen in such a contrast as that presented by Dionysius and 'Longinus,' two authors admirably adapted to supplement and balance one another. Neither is entirely one-sided; but Dionysius concerns himself mainly with questions of literary form

and technique, whereas 'Longinus' dwells more on that moral nobleness which he thinks he discerns in all really great literature. The former has chiefly in view the art of literature, the latter its spirit. The latter is impressed by what is elemental and unapproachable in genius; the former reminds us that great artists are also great craftsmen.

The three epistolary essays included in this volume are chiefly occupied with points of interest affecting four great Greek prose-writers: Aristotle, Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides. All the three letters are more or less polemical, being protests (1) *against a literary fiction of some indiscreet Peripatetic, who had maintained that the oratory of Demosthenes was formed upon the* Rhetoric *of Aristotle;* (2) *against an excessive admiration, and servile imitation, of the style of Plato;* (3) *against the adoption of a similar attitude towards the style of Thucydides. The letters are interesting, and variously suggestive, in themselves. But it is hoped that the present volume will also serve as a kind of general introduction to the entire body of extant critical work which we owe to Dionysius. In the Introductory Essay and in the Bibliography no pains have been spared to give full information, and abundant references, with the view of shedding light on all the literary essays of Dionysius; and in the Notes and Glossary a like effort has been made to illustrate his literary opinions and technical language by means of quotations from himself and other Greek critics. The task has been one of some difficulty, since no general introduction of the sort here offered exists either at home or abroad and no English translation of any of the literary essays of Dionysius has so far appeared. The difficulty of finding suitable English equivalents for the technical terms of Greek literary criticism is, indeed, far greater than any who have not essayed the task of translation could well imagine. I have, however, derived much incidental help, in this and other ways, from Sir Richard Jebb's* Attic Orators *and Dr J. E. Sandys'* Orator of Cicero, *both of which books bear witness to an intimate knowledge of the critical*

writings of Dionysius. In textual matters I am much indebted to the work of Herwerden, Weil, Usener and Radermacher; but in constituting my own text I have striven throughout to exercise an independent judgment, and have specially collated (for the purposes of this edition) the important Paris MS. 1741. *In the revision of the proof-sheets I have had most valuable help from my friends Mr G. B. Mathews, Mr W. H. D. Rouse, and Mr W. J. Woodhouse. Nor must I omit to mention the care and acuteness which the Readers of the University Press have once more shown in the discharge of their exacting duties.*

Some not unfavourable critics of 'Longinus on the Sublime' have suggested that the edition would have been better if somewhat differently planned. A Quarterly Reviewer, whose own studies have clearly lain rather in the direction of English literature than of the Greek and Latin classics, thinks that more space should have been allotted to an estimate of the modern influence of the treatise. This may be so or not; it is one of those questions of proportion on which views will always differ. The same writer further thinks that the evidence in favour of the traditional attribution of the book to Longinus should have been more fully stated. This, again, is a colourable criticism, though it must be noted that the critic is himself apparently unable to add anything to the well-worn arguments (accessible to all) by which the old view was supported. It is, however, a subject of real regret to me that the reviewer, deserting matters of opinion for matters of fact, should have gone on to say that some of the omissions he notices 'are no doubt to be attributed to the restrictions which have, as we understand, been placed on him [the editor] by his publishers.' It is due to the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press to state that my volume was accepted by them exactly as it stood, and that for any shortcomings in it I am alone responsible. This misstatement of fact finds, I am glad to reflect, no warrant in anything said within the book itself.

In this edition, as in its predecessor, Greek text and English

translation have been placed on facing pages, and the necessary explanatory matter has been thrown into the shape of Notes and Glossary and given in the latter part of the volume. This arrangement seems calculated to meet the wishes of any men of letters who may be led to read the book out of interest rather in the authors whom Dionysius elucidates than in Dionysius himself. Such readers, we cannot doubt, would be entirely to the mind of Dionysius. It is said that Richard Porson once remarked that he would be 'quite content if, three hundred years after his time, it should be said that one Porson lived towards the close of the eighteenth century, who did a good deal for the text of Euripides.' These words show at once the modesty and the pride of the true scholar. Dionysius also was a true scholar in his way, but his aims were more ambitious. His own chief desire probably was that, in days to come, it should be said that there lived (in the age of Caesar Augustus) a historian, born in the same Greek town as Herodotus, who had told once for all the tale of the origin and growth of the great Roman power. But should this claim be disallowed, he would then, we may feel sure, wish to be remembered as a scholar who had contributed something to the knowledge and appreciation of the literature of Greece.

It is, doubtless, chiefly through the influence of modern men of letters that Dionysius has been able to transmit some share of the Greek spirit to our day. An editor who happens to be dating from the native county of Tennyson not unnaturally recalls some words which early in the past century were addressed to James Spedding: 'You ask me what I have been doing. I have written several things since I saw you, some emulation of the "ἡδὺ καὶ βραχὺ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές" of Alcaeus, others of the "ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῆς συνθέσεως ἀκρίβεια" of Simonides.' The Greek expressions in inverted commas are quoted by Tennyson from the De Vet. Script. Censura *of Dionysius. It is a remarkable illustration of the lasting influence of Greek literature that the representative*

poet of the age of Victoria should have been thus shaping his genius under the guidance of the literary critic of Augustan Rome. The experience of recent years encourages the hope that, in the century now dawning, many important discoveries will be made which will gladden the heart of the classical student and lift a little higher the curtain that hangs between him and the ancient world. But for England at large no more ennobling revelation of antiquity could be desired than the life-work of yet another great poet who, while true to the best instincts of the English race, shall be Roman in his reverence for law and Greek in his love of beauty.

W. Rhys Roberts.

Old Clee,
Lincolnshire.
New Year's Day, 1901.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON DIONYSIUS AS A LITERARY CRITIC.

I. *Life* 1

II. *Antiquitates Romanae*. 3

III. *Scripta Rhetorica. Probable order in which they were written. Lost writings* 4

IV. *Separate works of Literary Criticism* 8

(1) *De Compositione Verborum* 8

(2) *De Oratoribus Antiquis.—De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene.—De Dinarcho* . 19

(3) *Ep. ad Ammaeum I.* 25

(4) *Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium*, and the *De Imitatione* 27

(5) *Ep. ad Ammaeum II.*, and the *De Thucydide* 30

V. *Relation of Dionysius as a Literary Critic to the Romans and to the Greeks* 34

VI. *General Estimate of Dionysius as a Literary Critic. His Aims and his Achievements* 43

Note on MSS. of the Three Literary Letters . . 49

EP. AD AMMAEUM I. TEXT AND TRANSLATION . . . 51

EP. AD POMPEIUM. TEXT AND TRANSLATION 87

EP. AD AMMAEUM II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION . . . 129

NOTES 161

GLOSSARY 183

BIBLIOGRAPHY 209

INDICES 221

Facsimile of P. 1741 . . . . . *Frontispiece.*

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS

AS A

LITERARY CRITIC.

THE *Three Literary Letters* printed and translated in this volume cannot be fully understood, nor will they convey a true impression of the merits of Dionysius as a critic, unless they are viewed in connexion with the life and general literary activities of their author. Accordingly an endeavour will be made, in the following pages, to give some account of the literary work accomplished by Dionysius in the course of his laborious career, and his aims and efforts will, so far as it is possible, be described in his own words.

I. LIFE.

The birthplace of Dionysius is known, but not the year of his birth or death. Early in his own History he mentions the fact that he was the son of Alexander and a native of Halicarnassus[1]. Strabo, a contemporary, gives similar testimony, enumerating among the distinguished townsmen of Halicarnassus 'Herodotus the historian; Heracleitus, the poet and friend of Callimachus; and in our own times, the historian Dionysius[2].' The active years of the life of

[1] *Ant. Rom.* i. 8: ὁ δὲ συντάξας αὐτὴν [sc. τὴν ἱστορίαν] Διονύσιός εἰμι Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἁλικαρνασεύς.

[2] Strab. *Geograph.* xiv. p. 656: ἄνδρες δὲ γεγόνασιν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἡρόδοτός τε ὁ συγγραφεὺς...καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ὁ ποιητής, ὁ Καλλιμάχου ἑταῖρος, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Διονύσιος ὁ συγγραφεύς.

Dionysius were passed at Rome; and with regard to these years another statement of his own is our principal authority. 'I took ship,' he says, 'to Italy at the time when the Civil War was brought to an end by Augustus Caesar, in the middle of the 187th Olympiad, and I have spent in Rome the twenty-two years which have elapsed between that time and this. I learnt the Latin language and made myself familiar with the national records, and during the whole of the time I have continued to occupy myself with the materials bearing upon my subject. Before beginning to write I gathered information, partly from the lips of the most learned men with whom I came into contact, and partly from histories written by Romans of whom they spoke with praise[1].'

The two-and-twenty years thus indicated are those from 30 B.C. to 8 B.C. The year of Dionysius' birth may therefore, in view of this passage and of certain other references in the History, be placed conjecturally between 60 and 55 B.C. As regards the date of his death nothing can be affirmed except the obvious fact that it cannot have been an earlier year than 8 B.C. His calling at Rome was that of a teacher of rhetoric. This is shown not only by the general character of his writings, but by his promise in the *De Compositione Verborum* to explain (to the young Melitius Rufus to whom he addresses the treatise) certain points of detail 'in our daily lessons[2].' Among his friends he must, as his writings show, have

[1] *Ant. Rom.* i. 7: ἐγὼ καταπλεύσας εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἅμα τῷ καταλυθῆναι τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβδόμης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος μεσούσης, καὶ τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσι μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος γενόμενον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρίψας, διάλεκτόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθὼν καὶ γραμμάτων <τῶν> ἐπιχωρίων λαβὼν ἐπιστήμην, ἐν παντὶ τούτῳ <τῷ> χρόνῳ τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην διετέλουν πραγματευόμενος. καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν λογιωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, οἷς εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἦλθον, διδαχῇ παραλαβών, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναλεξάμενος, ἃς οἱ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπαινούμενοι Ῥωμαίων συνέγραψαν, Πόρκιός τε Κάτων καὶ Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Οὐαλέριος <ὁ> Ἀντιεὺς καὶ Λικίνιος Μάκερ Αἰλιοί τε καὶ Γέλλιοι καὶ Καλπούρνιοι καὶ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄνδρες οὐκ ἀφανεῖς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων ὁρμώμενος τῶν πραγματειῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς χρονογραφίαις ἐοικυῖαι), τότε ἐπεχείρησα τῇ γραφῇ.

[2] *De Comp. Verb.* c. xx.: ταῦτ' ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν γυμνασίαις προσυποθήσομαί σοι, καὶ πολλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ ῥητόρων μαρτυρίαις χρήσομαι.

numbered not only Melitius Rufus the elder, but Ammaeus, Gnaeus Pompeius Geminus, and Q. Ælius Tubero.

II. ANTIQUITATES ROMANAE.

The Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (or, *Antiquitates Romanae*) of Dionysius was, as the name implies, an account of the *Early History of Rome.* It was written in twenty books (of which the first nine survive in their integrity, the tenth and eleventh in great part, the rest only in fragments), and carried the narrative from legendary times down to the year 264 B.C.[1]. The work was, therefore, designed to cover the period left untouched by Polybius. It was also intended as a thank-offering for the manifold favours which Dionysius had enjoyed during his prolonged residence in Rome[2]. In preparing his work, the author drew from good sources, as he has himself told us[3]. Notwithstanding all his praiseworthy industry, however, he writes history in the spirit of a Greek rhetorician. It would have been well for his fame as a historian if his qualifications had been such as those of Polybius, of whom on grounds of style he speaks slightingly, classing him in poor company. 'In later times the art of *composition* was utterly neglected. No one thought that it was necessary, or that it contributed anything to beauty of style. Consequently writers left behind them volumes which no one can bring himself to read right to the end. Cases in point are Phylarchus, Duris, Polybius, Psaon, Demetrius of Calantis, Hieronymus, Antilochus, Heracleides, Hegesias of Magnesia, and countless others, whose names a whole day would scarcely

[1] Photius (cod. 84) mentions a summary (σύνοψις) of the *Archaeologia*, made by Dionysius himself. A book on chronology (περὶ χρόνων) is described in *Arch.* I. 74, and is quoted as an historical authority by Clement of Alexandria.

[2] *Ant. Rom.* i. 6, χαριστηρίους ἀμοιβάς, ἃς ἐμοὶ δύναμις ἦν, ἀποδοῦναι τῇ πόλει, παιδείας τε μεμνημένῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ὅσων ἀπέλαυσα διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ.

[3] Among the Greeks, Hieronymus of Cardia, Timaeus, and Polybius. Among the Romans, Cato (*Origines*), Fabius Maximus (*Annales*), Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer, Aelius, Gellius, Calpurnius: see *Ant. Rom.* I. 7 (partly quoted on the preceding page).

suffice to tell[1].' Dionysius was hardly wrong in holding that historians, no less than other writers, owe the duty of style alike to their readers and their subject. It is his misfortune that he falls short himself in even weightier matters. For if the choice must be made and a history cannot unite various excellences, then far superior to style, to erudition, to the panegyrist's desire to please or the moralist's desire to instruct, is the mind which can seize the great facts of national life and the character which can record them without fear or favour.

III. Scripta Rhetorica. Probable order in which they were written. Lost writings.

Dionysius himself undoubtedly regarded the *Archaeologia* as the great achievement of his life. Since the reawakening of historical criticism in the earlier decades of the past century, the modern world has agreed to value it only so far as it reproduces Roman authorities now lost, or records legends and primitive observances the key to which has since been sought by scientific inquirers. So that, by one of those curious ironies not uncommon in the history of letters, Dionysius is now chiefly remembered by his shorter writings. He is one of those historians who owe such fame as they possess not so much to their more ambitious efforts as to what they would themselves unquestionably have considered their minor works and more ephemeral essays.

The shorter writings of Dionysius are traditionally known under the title *Scripta Rhetorica.* This title it is well to retain, if only as a reminder that, whenever we speak of Dionysius as a literary critic, we are speaking of one who

[1] *De Comp.* c. 4, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον παντάπασιν ἠμελήθη, καὶ οὐδεὶς ᾠετο δεῖν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ εἶναι, οὐδὲ συμβάλλεσθαί τι τῷ κάλλει τῶν λόγων. τοιγάρτοι τοιαύτας συντάξεις κατέλιπον, οἵας οὐδεὶς ὑπομένει μέχρι κορωνίδος διελθεῖν· Φύλαρχον λέγω, καὶ Δοῦριν, καὶ Πολύβιον, καὶ Ψάωνα, καὶ τὸν Καλαντιανὸν Δημήτριον, Ἱερώνυμόν τε καὶ Ἀντίλοχον, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην, καὶ Ἡγησίαν Μάγνητα, καὶ ἄλλους μυρίους· ὧν ἁπάντων τὰ ὀνόματα εἰ βουλοίμην λέγειν, ἐπιλείψει με ὁ τῆς ἡμέρας χρόνος.

was, first and foremost, a teacher of rhetoric. At the same time, if an English title general enough to cover the various essays in question must be suggested, 'literary criticism' (a term of wide application) is probably a more appropriate heading than 'rhetorical writings.' Of purely technical rhetoric Dionysius has left us but little. The *Ars Rhetorica* is no longer held to be his work, though it may possibly contain fragments of his doctrine[1]. The treatise on the *Arrangement of Words* contains much that is technical, but much also that may fairly be described as literary criticism. The general character of this treatise, and of the other *Scripta Rhetorica* of Dionysius, will appear more clearly from the description to be given later.

The approximate order in which the 'rhetorical' writings of Dionysius were written may be conjectured from the numerous references which, in the course of them, he makes from one to another. He never wearies of telling his readers that this matter or the other has been, or is being, or will be treated in a separate work[2]. But singularly enough, he lets fall no hint as to whether his History preceded, or followed, his Critical Works. Nevertheless, though the rhetorician never refers to the historian and the historian never refers to the rhetorician, it is likely that most of the rhetorical writings of Dionysius were composed at intervals during the two-and-

[1] The fullest discussion of the authenticity of the *Ars Rhetorica* will be found in Sadous, *De la Rhétorique attribuée à Denys d'Halicarnasse.* In the best manuscript (P 1741) the book is not ascribed to Dionysius except by a somewhat later hand. But at the beginning of c. x (fol. 29^{v}) there is the following important note: *τοῦτο τὸ μονόβιβλον οἶμαι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς συνέταξεν ὁ πρότερος· μέμνηται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἐκδεδομένου αὐτῷ τοῦ Περὶ μιμήσεως.* The doubt thus cast on the earlier books is confirmed by express references in them to a period later than that of Dionysius. Chapter x (and chapter xi) may possibly be his work, but various points of language and precept make this unlikely, and the mention (x. 19) of a proposed treatise *περὶ μιμήσεως* is no conclusive proof of Dionysian authorship.—Dionysius' definition of rhetoric has been otherwise preserved: *ῥητορικὴ ἐστι δύναμις τεχνικὴ πιθανοῦ λόγου ἐν πράγματι πολιτικῷ, τέλος ἔχουσα τὸ εὖ λέγειν* (Usener, *D. H. de Imit.*, pp. 11—14).

[2] These are some examples, chosen almost at random, of Dionysius' practice in this matter: *de Lys.* c. 12 fin., *ibid.* c. 14 fin., *de Isaeo* c. 2, *de adm. vi dic. in Demosth.* c. 58 fin., *de Dinarcho* c. 13, *de Thucyd.* c. 1 fin., *ad Amm.* I c. 3, *ad Amm.* II c. 1, *ad Pomp.* c. 2 init., c. 3 fin.

twenty years of which the *Archaeologia* was, in his own view, the principal fruit. The sequence of these writings among themselves must have been somewhat as follows :—

1. *Epistula ad Ammaeum I.*
2. *De Compositione Verborum.*
3. *De Antiquis Oratoribus: Iudicia de Lysia, etc.*
4. *De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene.*
5. *De Imitatione Libri I, II.*
6. *Epistula ad Cn. Pompeium.*
7. *De Imitatione Liber III.*
8. *De Dinarcho.*
9. *De Thucydide.*
10. *Epistula ad Ammaeum II.*

A few examples will show the sort of evidence available for determining not the exact date (that being unknown in every case) but the approximate sequence of these writings. In the opening chapter of the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*, the essays on the *Ancient Orators* are described as earlier productions than the comparatively recent treatise on *Thucydides*, from which a long extract is given in the second chapter. Similarly in the third chapter of the *Letter to Gnaeus Pompeius* there is an important allusion to the three books *On Imitation*, from the second of which an extended quotation is made. In the second chapter of the same *Letter* a passage is reproduced from the treatise on the *Attic Orators*[1]. An interesting question is raised by this last reference. Does Dionysius mean us to understand that the *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosthene*, which is the work in question, belongs to the same series (*περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων ad Pomp.* c. 2 init., or *περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων ad Amm. II.* c. 1 init.) as the *De Lysia, De Isocrate, De Isaeo*? It may be so, since Demosthenes was certainly one of the six Attic orators included by Dionysius in that series[2]. But the separate entry given above is con-

[1] *ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν πραγματείᾳ ῥητόρων, ad Pomp.* c. 2 init.

[2] *De Dinarcho* c. 1 init., *περὶ Δεινάρχου τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐδὲν εἰρηκὼς ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων γραφεῖσιν διὰ τὸ μήτε εὑρετὴν ἰδίου γεγονέναι χαρακτῆρος τὸν ἄνδρα, ὥσπερ τὸν Λυσίαν καὶ τὸν Ἰσοκράτην καὶ τὸν Ἰσαῖον, μήτε τῶν εὑρημένων ἑτέροις τελειωτήν, ὥσπερ τὸν Δημοσθένη καὶ τὸν Αἰσχίνη καὶ <τὸν> Ὑπερίδην ἡμεῖς*

venient as marking the fact that this essay stands apart from the others alike in elaboration and incompleteness[1]. It seems a likely inference from the various statements of Dionysius that he wrote on Demosthenes (and indeed on Lysias and the other lesser orators) at different times and from many different points of view, not only analysing their style but discussing such points as the genuineness or spuriousness of the speeches commonly attributed to them. In the *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 32 he seems to promise to publish a set comparison between the style of Demosthenes and that of Plato, in order to establish the superiority of the former[2]. If he carried out his intention, the work has been lost. Other missing books are the *περὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων* promised 'for next year' (*εἰς νέωτα, de Comp.* c. 1); the *ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας* (*de Thucyd.* c. 2); the *περὶ τῶν σχημάτων* (Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 89); and the three books of the *De Imitatione,* which treatise appears as a matter of convenience in the list given above[3].

κρίνομεν. Cp. *de Antiq. Orat.*, proem., ad fin.: *ἔσονται δὲ οἱ παραλαμβανόμενοι ῥήτορες τρεῖς μὲν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, Λυσίας Ἰσοκράτης Ἰσαῖος, τρεῖς δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπακμασάντων τούτοις, Δημοσθένης Ὑπερίδης Αἰσχίνης, οὓς ἐγὼ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστους, καὶ διαιρεθήσεται μὲν εἰς δύο συντάξεις ἡ πραγματεία, τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης λήψεται τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γραφείσης. de Isaeo* c. 20 fin., *ἑτέραν δὲ ἀρχὴν ποιήσομαι τοῦ λόγου περί τε Δημοσθένους καὶ Ὑπερίδου καὶ τρίτου λέγων Αἰσχίνου. ἡ γὰρ δὴ τελειοτάτη ῥητορικὴ καὶ τὸ κράτος τῶν ἐναγωνίων λόγων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔοικεν εἶναι.*

[1] It deals only (though very fully) with *ἡ λεκτικὴ Δημοσθένους δεινότης*, or *the oratorical power of Demosthenes' style*, as distinguished from *ἡ πραγματικὴ Δημοσθένους δεινότης*, or his *skill in handling subject-matter*; the part treating of the latter division of the subject is not extant. The title *Περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος* (*De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene*) is due to Sylburg.

[2] *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 32: *δυνάμενος δ' ἄν, εἰ βουλοίμην, καὶ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἑκατέρας κατορθώματα ἐξετάζειν καὶ δεικνύειν, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἐστὶν ἡ Δημοσθένους λέξις τῆς Πλατωνικῆς οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὸ ἀληθινὸν καὶ πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτήδειον (τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας ὁμοίως ἅπαντας οὐδὲ λόγου δεῖν οἶμαι), ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ τροπικόν, περὶ ὃ μάλιστα δεινὸς ὁ Πλάτων εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ πολλὰς ἔχων ἀφορμὰς λόγων ταύτην μὲν εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ἀναβάλλομαι τὴν θεωρίαν, εἴπερ περιέσται μοι χρόνος· ἰδίαν γὰρ οὐκ ὀκνήσω περὶ αὐτῆς ἐξενέγκαι πραγματείαν.*

[3] Further particulars may be sought in F. Blass *De Dionysii Halicarnassensis Scriptis Rhetoricis*, and in H. Rabe *Die Zeitfolge der rhetorischen Schriften des Dionys von Halicarnass* (*Rhein. Mus. N. F.* XLVIII. pp. 147—151).

IV. Separate Works of Literary Criticism.

(1) De Compositione Verborum.

It is not intended to keep closely to any conjectured order of time in the following brief description of the extant critical writings of Dionysius. The treatise *De Compositione Verborum*, which it is convenient to take first because of its able exposition of many of the most important rhetorical or literary principles of Dionysius, is on any reckoning probably later than the *First Letter to Ammaeus*, and is hardly the production of a very young man. It has, indeed, been thought that Dionysius speaks like an unmistakably old man when, in the first chapter of the *De Compositione*, he makes a promise with the proviso "if heaven keeps us safe and sound[1]." But this expression is probably one of simple piety only, and as such it has a parallel in another of the writings of Dionysius[2]. And in any case the treatise is earlier (though probably only shortly so) than the *De admir. vi dic. in Demosth.*, which contains more than one reference to it[3].

The *De Compositione* was an offering from Dionysius to his pupil Melitius Rufus, who was celebrating his first birthday after entering on man's estate. The Greek title of the book is *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*, *On the Arrangement of Words*[4].

[1] *De Comp. Verb.* c. 1: *ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν πραγματείαν εἰς νέωτα, πάλιν ὥραις ταῖς αὐταῖς, προσδέχου, θεῶν ἡμᾶς φυλαττόντων ἀσινεῖς τε καὶ ἀνόσους, εἰ δή ποτε ἡμῖν ἄρα τούτου πέπρωται βεβαίως τυχεῖν· νυνὶ δὲ ἣν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπὶ νοῦν ἤγαγέ μοι πραγματείαν προσδέχου.*

[2] *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosth.* c. 58 fin.: *ἐὰν δὲ σώζῃ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡμᾶς, καὶ περὶ τῆς πραγματικῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος, ἔτι μείζονος ἢ τοῦδε καὶ θαυμαστοτέρου θεωρήματος, ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς γραφησομένοις ἀποδώσομέν σοι τὸν λόγον.*

[3] *ibid.* c. 49, *εἰ δέ τις ἀπαιτήσει καὶ ταῦτ' ἔτι μαθεῖν ὅπῃ ποτ' ἔχει, τοὺς ὑπομνηματισμοὺς ἡμῶν λαβών, οὓς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πεπραγματεύμεθα, πάντα ὅσα ποθεῖ τῶν ἐνθάδε παραλειπομένων εἴσεται.* *ibid.* c. 50, *τὰς δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους πίστεις ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως γραφεῖσιν ἀποδεδωκὼς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμαι κἀνταῦθα λέγειν.*

[4] The full title is indicated in *De admir. vi dic. in Demosth.* c. 49 (as quoted in the preceding note), *τοὺς ὑπομνηματισμοὺς...οὓς περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων πεπραγματεύμεθα.* The best English and French equivalent of *σύνθεσις* would be *composition*, if the word had not so wide a range. As it is, *arrangement* or *order*

Dionysius starts with the proposition that, in the practice of eloquence, there are two things to be considered, the ideas (*νοήματα*) and the words (*ὀνόματα*) used to express them; or, to put the same thing in another way, there is the sphere of subject-matter (*ὁ πραγματικὸς τόπος*), and the sphere of expression (*ὁ λεκτικὸς τόπος*). The latter of the two divisions is more within the reach of 'beardless striplings' (*ἀγενείων καὶ μειρακίων, de Comp.* c. 1), who pursue it with eager enthusiasm, than the former, which demands the maturity of a riper age. A complete treatment of the *λεκτικὸς τόπος* will embrace not only the *arrangement* but the *choice* of words, and a book on this latter aspect of the subject is promised for the succeeding year (c. 1)[1]. Taken together, *ἐκλογὴ* and *σύνθεσις* are thus intended to teach the great secret of the use of the right word in the right place. Dionysius is not only a preceptor who advocates the choice of the 'mot propre,' but also one who

'D'un mot mis en sa place enseigne le pouvoir.'

In fact, he attaches greater importance to the latter requisite than to the former. "Although the choice of words stands first in the natural order, yet their due arrangement contributes far more decidedly to pleasure, persuasion and oratorical force[2]." The functions of the art of arrangement are, "to place the words in the right order, to assign the

in English, and *arrangement* or *disposition* in French, must serve. In Latin *collocatio* (cp. Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 171) might be used, as well as *compositio*.

[1] From the *De Comp. Verb.*, considered in connexion with his other undisputed works, it is clear that Dionysius has in mind the following divisions and subdivisions:

A. *ὁ πραγματικὸς τόπος.*
  I. *εὕρεσις. κρίσις.*
  II. *οἰκονομία.*

B. *ὁ λεκτικὸς τόπος.*
  I. *ἡ ἐκλογὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων.*
    (1) *κυρία φράσις.*
    (2) *τροπικὴ κατασκευή.*
  II. *ἡ σύνθεσις τῶν ὀνομάτων.*

[2] *De Comp. Verb.* c. 2, *ἡδονὴν καὶ πειθὼ καὶ κράτος ἐν λόγοις οὐκ ὀλίγῳ κρείττω ἐκείνης ἔχει.*

fitting 'harmony' to the members of the sentence, and to divide the discourse into the proper periods[1]." It is to be noted that Dionysius does not, in our treatise, redeem his promise to treat of the proper employment of periods and of the due division of discourse into them. The diction used to express our thoughts is of two kinds, verse and prose; it is subject to metre or independent of it[2]. The importance, both in prose and in poetry, of the art of arrangement is illustrated by Dionysius (c. 3) from Homer and Herodotus. The passage chosen from Homer is that of the *Odyssey* (xvi. 1—16) in which Odysseus as the guest of the swineherd is (after the ancient fashion) about to break his fast at dawn, when Telemachus appears in sight returning from his sojourn in the Peloponnese. The incidents themselves are, says Dionysius, "the simple and insignificant occurrences of every-day life, but they are admirably described.....The words charm and bewitch the ear....And yet they are [and this tends to show that *composition* is even more important than *diction*] the humblest and most ordinary words imaginable, such as might be used off-hand by a farmer, or a fisherman, or an artisan, or anybody else who is careless about elegant speech[3]." The passage quoted from Herodotus is that (Herod. i. 8—10) in which Candaules, the Lydian king, conceives the strange desire of revealing his wife disrobed to the eyes of his friend Gyges, the better to convince him of her beauty.

[1] *De Comp. Verb.* c. 2, ἔστι δὴ τῆς συνθέσεως ἔργα, τά τε ὀνόματα οἰκείως θεῖναι παράλληλα, καὶ τοῖς κώλοις ἀποδοῦναι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἁρμονίαν, καὶ ταῖς περιόδοις διαλαβεῖν εὖ τὸν λόγον. For the κῶλον, see Blass *Att. Beredt.* III. 105—113.

[2] ἔστι τοίνυν πᾶσα λέξις, ἣ σημαίνομεν τὰς νοήσεις, ἡ μὲν ἔμμετρος, ἡ δὲ ἄμετρος, *de Comp.* c. 3 init.

[3] πραγμάτια λιτὰ καὶ βιωτικά, ἡρμηνευμένα ὑπέρευ...ἐπάγεται καὶ κηλεῖ τὰς ἀκοάς...διὰ γὰρ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων τε καὶ ταπεινοτάτων ὀνομάτων πέπλεκται πᾶσα ἡ λέξις, οἷς ἂν καὶ γεωργός, καὶ θαλαττουργός, καὶ χειροτέχνης, καὶ πᾶς ὁ μηδεμίαν ὥραν τοῦ λέγειν εὖ ποιούμενος, ἐξ ἑτοίμου λαβὼν ἐχρήσατο, *de Comp.* c. 3. The passage runs on: οὔτε γὰρ μεταφοραί τινες ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐγενεῖς ἔνεισιν, οὔτε ὑπαλλαγαί, οὔτε καταχρήσεις, οὔτε ἄλλη τροπικὴ διάλεκτος οὐδεμία, οὐδὲ δὴ γλῶτται πολλαί τινες, οὔτε ξένα ἢ πεποιημένα ὀνόματα. That is to say, a refined simplicity is as effective, in its place, as all the adornments of the so-called 'artistic' prose or poetry. It is one of Dionysius' great merits to have recognised and proclaimed this in a post-classical era.

The theme, as Dionysius remarks, is an ignoble and even a hazardous one. But it has, he adds, been treated most happily, and the narrative is better than the occurrence. This result is, we are told, due not to the words, which are ordinary words taken as they come, but to the skill with which they are arranged[1].

Still confining himself to Homer and Herodotus, Dionysius (c. 4) makes some daring experiments with the poetry of the former. Homer uses, he says, the complete heroic metre of six feet, which is scanned by dactyls[2]. Some of these hexameters are forthwith transmuted into two varieties of tetrameters, with consequences which are as disastrous as they are meant to be. From Herodotus he takes the following passage (Herod. i. 6), quoting it in the Attic dialect thus:—

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττου, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ· ὅς, ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας μεταξὺ Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων, ἐξίησι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον.

"I change the 'harmony' of this passage," says Dionysius, "and I shall find before me no longer an alluring and historical style, but rather one that is direct and vehement[3]." He then rewrites the words as follows:—

Κροῖσος ἦν υἱὸς μὲν Ἀλυάττου, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τύραννος δὲ

[1] In transcribing the passage from Herodotus, Dionysius has turned it into Attic, "in order that no one may suppose that it is the *dialect* that gives the narrative its charm" (ἵνα μή τις ὑπολάβῃ τὴν διάλεκτον εἶναι τῆς ἡδονῆς αἰτίαν τῇ λέξει, c. 3). The truth seems to be that, in this instance, the charm lies not so much in the dialect, or indeed in the vaunted *σύνθεσις* itself, as in *the attitude of the writer's mind* as revealed in the entire narrative, style being interesting (here if anywhere) as the revelation of personality. It has been well said that "in all the greatest sculpture there breathes the unshamed and innocent surprise of a child just waked from sleep" (Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I. p. xcvii). So with Herodotus and this passage of his History. If we are to employ modern terms, we may well speak of the *naïveté* of the author, but we should strike a false note if we were tempted to speak of this story of his as *risqué*, even though Dionysius, living in a self-conscious age, does describe it as ἐπικίνδυνον (the word rendered 'hazardous' above).

[2] τοῦτο τὸ μέτρον ἡρῳϊκόν ἐστι, ἑξάπουν, τέλειον, κατὰ πόδα δάκτυλον βαινόμενον, c. 4.

[3] μετατίθημι τῆς λέξεως ταύτης τὴν ἁρμονίαν, καὶ γενήσεταί μοι οὐκέτι ἐπαγωγικὸν τὸ πλάσμα, οὐδὲ ἱστορικόν, ἀλλ' ὀρθὸν μᾶλλον καὶ ἐναγώνιον, c. 4.

τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἐθνῶν· ὅς, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων μεταξὺ Σύρων καὶ Παφλαγόνων, εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλούμενον πόντον ἐκδίδωσι πρὸς βορέαν ἄνεμον.

"This style," he proceeds, "would seem not to differ widely from that of Thucydides (Thucyd. i. 24) in the words: *Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον· προσοικοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν Ταυλάντιοι βάρβαροι, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος.*"

Dionysius now recasts the passage of Herodotus in another way. "Again I will change the same passage, and give a new form to it as follows:—

Ἀλυάττου μὲν υἱὸς ἦν Κροῖσος, γένος δὲ Λυδός, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ τύραννος ἐθνῶν· ὅς, ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ῥέων Σύρων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων μεταξύ, πρὸς βορέαν ἔξεισιν ἄνεμον εἰς τὸν καλούμενον πόντον Εὔξεινον."

This is taken to represent the mincing, common, and effeminate manner in which Hegesias arranges his sentences, of which the following actual specimens are given: "*ἐξ ἀγαθῆς ἑορτῆς ἀγαθὴν ἄγομεν ἄλλην.*"—"*ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας εἰμὶ τῆς μεγάλης Σιπυλεύς.*"—"*οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν εἰς Θηβαίων ὕδωρ ἔπτυσεν ὁ Διόνυσος· ἡδὺς μὲν γάρ ἐστι, ποιεῖ δὲ μαίνεσθαι.*" As will be seen more clearly later, Hegesias is the pet aversion of Dionysius, to whose mind he represents *Asianism* in its most odious form.

The praises of arrangement are (c. 4) summed up in a happy comparison. Dionysius likens this invaluable art to the magic transforming power of the Homeric Athênê, who could at will present Odysseus to the view in the guise of a beggar or as a princely warrior.

His general introduction thus completed, Dionysius takes up, more specifically, such points as the order in which the various parts of speech naturally come in a sentence (c. 5). He admits that he had been inclined to entertain *a priori* views on the question of grammatical rules, holding that nouns should precede verbs, verbs adverbs, and so on[1]. But

[1] He had, he tells us (c. 4 ad fin.), endeavoured to find some *φυσικὴ ἀφορμή* in such matters.

he had proceeded, with that sound practical judgment which distinguishes him, to test his theories in the light of Homer's usage. He had then found them wanting. "Trial made shipwreck of them all, and showed their utter worthlessness[1]." In the chapters which follow (cc. 6—9) he discusses some details connected with the proper handling of words and clauses, and with the employment of figures of thought. Incidentally he remarks how the pathos of a passage in the speech of the Plataeans (Thucyd. iii. 57) would vanish if instead of "*ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε*" we were to read "*ὑμεῖς τε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, δέδιμεν μὴ οὐ βέβαιοι ἦτε, ἡ μόνη ἐλπίς.*" So with a sentence of Demosthenes (*de Cor.* 119): "*τὸ λαβεῖν οὖν τὰ διδόμενα ὁμολογῶν ἔννομον εἶναι, τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι παρανόμων γράφει.*" Let the object, in each clause, be placed not first but last, and the trenchant vigour appropriate to the law-courts disappears: "*ὁμολογῶν οὖν ἔννομον εἶναι τὸ λαβεῖν τὰ διδόμενα, παρανόμων γράφει τὸ τούτων χάριν ἀποδοῦναι.*"

Chapters 10—20 treat of nobility (*τὸ καλόν*) and charm (*ἡ ἡδονή*) in style, and of the means by which these qualities may be attained. When nobility and charm are found united in good writing, the ear is satisfied, just as is the eye when it discerns these qualities in a picture or a statue; the eye is then content and desires nothing more. The two qualities are not, however, always found in combination. The style of Thucydides and of Antiphon is eminently noble, but it is not charming[2]. The style of Ctesias and of Xenophon is charming in the highest degree, but not as noble as it should have been. The composition (*σύνθεσις*) of Herodotus unites both these qualities; it is at once noble and charming (c. 10).

Charm and nobility are themselves, in Dionysius' judgment, chiefly due to four things: melody, rhythm, variety, and the propriety which attends these three[3]. Susceptibility to

[1] *πάντα δὲ ταῦτα διεσάλευσεν ἡ πεῖρα, καὶ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέφηνε*, c. 5.

[2] Dionysius means that the nobility is austere rather than winning.

[3] *μέλος, καὶ ῥυθμός, καὶ μεταβολή, καὶ τὸ παρακολουθοῦν τοῖς τρισὶ τούτοις πρέπον*, c. 11. Later in the same chapter *τὸ οἰκεῖον* is used as an equivalent of *τὸ πρέπον*.

harmonious sounds may be regarded as a sort of human instinct:—

"Who is there that is not attracted and enthralled by one melody, while he remains entirely unaffected by another,—that is not captivated by this rhythm, but offended by that? Ere now in popular houses of entertainment, thronged by a mixed and uncultured multitude, I have seemed to observe that all of us have a sort of natural appreciation for good melody and good rhythm. I have seen an accomplished harpist, of high repute, hissed by the assembled public because he struck a single wrong note and so spoiled the melody. I have seen, too, a flute-player, who handled his instrument with the practised skill of a master, suffer the same fate because he blew faultily or, through not compressing his lips, produced a harsh sound or so-called 'broken note' as he played. Nevertheless, if the amateur critic were bidden to take up the instrument and himself to render any of the pieces with whose performance by professionals he found fault, he would be unable to do it. Why so? Because this is an affair of skill, in which we are not all partakers; the other of feeling, which is nature's universal gift to man. I have noticed the same thing occur in the case of rhythms. Everybody chafes and fumes when a performer strikes an instrument, takes a step, or sings a note, out of time, and so destroys the rhythm[1]."

Now the difference between music and oratory, Dionysius proceeds to say, is simply one of quantity, not of quality. The speaking voice is confined to a narrower compass of notes than is the singing voice, and does not observe intervals

[1] *De Comp.* c. 11, *τίς γάρ ἐστιν, ὃς οὐχ ὑπὸ μὲν ταύτης τῆς μελῳδίας ἄγεται καὶ χαιρετᾶται, ὑφ' ἑτέρας δέ τινος οὐδὲν πάσχει τοιοῦτον; καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων τῶν ῥυθμῶν οἰκειοῦται, ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων διοχλεῖται; ἤδη δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολυανθρωποτάτοις θεάτροις, ἃ συμπληροῖ παντοδαπὸς καὶ ἄμουσος ὄχλος, ἔδοξα καταμαθεῖν, ὡς φυσική τις ἐστὶν ἁπάντων ἡμῶν οἰκειότης πρὸς εὐμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν, κιθαριστήν τε ἀγαθόν, σφόδρα εὐδοκιμοῦντα, ἰδὼν θορυβηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μίαν χορδὴν ἀσύμφωνον ἔκρουσε, καὶ ἔφθειρε τὸ μέλος, καὶ αὐλητήν, μετὰ τῆς ἄκρας ἕξεως χρώμενον τοῖς ὀργάνοις, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παθόντα, ὅτι ἀσύμφωνον ἐμπνεύσας, ἢ μὴ πιέσας τὸ στόμα, θρυλιγμὸν ἢ τὴν καλουμένην ἐκμέλειαν ἤνλησε. καίτοι εἴ τις καλέσειε τὸν ἰδιώτην τούτων τι, ὧν ἐνεκάλει τοῖς τεχνίταις ὡς ἡμαρτημένων, αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι λαβόντα τὰ ὄργανα, οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο. τί δή ποτε; ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπιστήμης ἐστίν, ἧς οὐ πάντες μετειλήφαμεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ πάθους, ὃ πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ἡ φύσις. τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ῥυθμῶν γινόμενον ἐθεασάμην, ἅμα πάντας ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ δυσαρεστουμένους, ὅτε τις ἢ κρούσειν, ἢ κίνησιν, ἢ φωνήν, ἐν ἀσυμμέτροις ποιήσαιτο χρόνοις, καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς ἀφανίσειεν.*

less than the semitone. In fact, the speaking voice is melodious, but it is not melody; it is rhythmical, but it is not rhythm (*εὐμελὴς...ἐμμελής, εὔρυθμος...ἔνρυθμος*).—The question of *variety* (*μεταβολή*) is treated next. Variety will be aided by a large vocabulary, one which does not disdain common words. "There is, I maintain, no part of speech (used to denote any thing or person) so low, or sordid, or coarse, or otherwise obnoxious, that it will find no fit place in literature. My advice is to bring out such words in composition with a bold and manly confidence, in accordance with the practice of Homer, in whose poems the commonest words are found[1]." A knowledge of the nature and powers of the letters of the alphabet (*γράμματα*) will also contribute to variety of style (c. 14). To illustrate his point, Dionysius enters upon a detailed and highly technical exposition, based upon the phonetics of his time. He gives the divisions into vowels (*φωνήεντα, φωναί*) and consonants (*ψόφοι*); semi-vowels (*ἡμίφωνα*) and mutes (*ἄφωνα*); short vowels (*βραχέα*), long (*μακρά*), and common (*δίχρονα*); aspirated consonants (*δασέα*), unaspirated (*ψιλά*), and common or medial (*κοινά, μέσα*). About individual letters many interesting remarks are made. The euphoniousness (*τὸ εὔφωνον, τὸ εὔηχον*) of the vowels is, in descending order, as follows: *α, η, ω, υ, ι*. The method of producing these vowels is described with some minuteness. Among the consonants, λ and ρ are warmly commended, while *σ* is stigmatised as "a graceless and disagreeable letter, and one which is decidedly offensive if used too often. Sibilation seems better to suit a wild beast's utterance than that of a rational being. Accordingly, some of the ancients used it sparingly and guardedly. There are, indeed, cases in which entire odes have been composed without a single sigma[2]."

[1] *De Comp.* c. 12, *οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω ταπεινόν, ἢ ῥυπαρόν, ἢ μιαρόν, ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δυσχέρειαν ἔχον ἔσεσθαί φημι λόγου μόριον, ᾧ σημαίνεταί τι σῶμα ἢ πρᾶγμα, ὃ μηδεμίαν ἕξει χώραν ἐπιτηδείαν ἐν λόγοις. παρακελεύομαι δὲ ἐν τῇ συνθέσει πιστεύοντας ἀνδρείως πάνυ καὶ τεθαρρηκότως αὐτὰ ἐκφέρειν, Ὁμήρῳ τε παραδείγματι χρώμενος, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τὰ εὐτελέστατα κεῖται τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ Δημοσθένει, καὶ Ἡροδότῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὧν ὀλίγον ὕστερον μνησθήσομαι.*

[2] c. 14, *ἄχαρι δὲ καὶ ἀηδὲς τὸ σ, καὶ εἰ πλεονάσειε σφόδρα λυπεῖ· θηριώδους γὰρ*

Passing a little later (c. 17) to the various rhythms, Dionysius distinguishes the following varieties of metrical feet (*πόδες, ῥυθμοί*):—

δισύλλαβοι	*τρισύλλαβοι*
⏑ ⏑ *ἡγεμών, πυρρίχιος*	⏑ ⏑ ⏑ *χορεῖος, τρίβραχυς*
– – *σπονδεῖος*	– – – *μολοττός*
⏑ – *ἴαμβος*	⏑ – ⏑ *ἀμφίβραχυς*
– ⏑ *τροχαῖος*	⏑ ⏑ – *ἀνάπαιστος*
	– ⏑ ⏑ *δάκτυλος*
	– ⏑ – *κρητικὸς*
	– – ⏑ *βακχεῖος*
	⏑ – – *ὑποβακχεῖος*

The dignity, or meanness, of each of these feet is declared and illustrated[1].

On the general question of the illustrations employed by Dionysius it may here be remarked that in the *De Compositione* he favours verse examples, while the subject-matter of the rest of his critical writings leads him more commonly to draw from prose sources. Where he quotes prose illustrations in the *De Compositione*, they are usually of a striking kind. In c. 18, for instance, when exemplifying the power of rhythm, he cites Thucyd. ii. 35 (*οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν*); Plat. *Menex.* 236 D (*ἔργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οἷδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ὧν τυχόντες πορεύονται τὴν εἱμαρμένην πορείαν*); and Demosth. *De Cor.* init. (*πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχομαι πᾶσι καὶ πάσαις ὅσην εὔνοιαν ἔχων ἐγὼ διατελῶ τῇ τε*

καὶ ἀλόγου μᾶλλον ἢ λογικῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι δοκεῖ φωνῆς ὁ συριγμός. τῶν γοῦν παλαιῶν σπανίως ἐχρῶντό τινες αὐτῷ καὶ πεφυλαγμένως· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἀσίγμους ᾠδὰς ὅλας ἐποίουν. The line of the *Medea* (*ἔσωσά σ', ὡς ἴσασιν Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι*, 476) is a well-known example of reiteration of the *σ* in order to denote hissing hate. *ζ*, although a compound of *σ*, does not share its disfavour. It stands, according to Dionysius, for *σδ* (not *δs*: cp. *συρίσδω = συρίζω*, *Ἀθήναζε = Ἀθήνασδε*), and the *σ* was probably sounded as in the French 'chose' or 'douse.'

[1] His analysis should be compared with that given in the chapter of Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 8) which deals with the subject of rhythm. See p. 40 n. 4 infra.

πόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν τοσαύτην ὑπάρξαι μοι παρ' ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα).

But it is from the poets, and especially from Homer, that he adduces, in this treatise, most of his proofs and illustrations. He finds (c. 16) a crowning instance of Homer's power of investing even the most unpromising materials with beauty in that passage of the *Iliad* (ii. 494 ff.) in which he enumerates the towns of Boeotia. In the same chapter he quotes, with noteworthy comments showing the zest of his enjoyment and the judiciousness of his admiration, such lines as

> *ἡ δ' ἴεν ἐκ θαλάμοιο περίφρων Πηνελόπεια*
> *Ἀρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἠὲ χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ.*
>
> *Od.* xvii. 36.

> *Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ*
> *φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα.*
>
> *Od.* vi. 162.

> *ὡς δ' ὅτε χείμαρροι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες,*
> *ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ.*
>
> *Il.* iv. 452.

> *σὺν δὲ δύω μάρψας ὥστε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ*
> *κόπτ'· ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν.*
>
> *Od.* ix. 289.

Similarly in c. 15 he quotes:

> *ἠιόνες βοόωσιν ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἔξω*[1].
>
> *Il.* xvii. 265.

> *Κύκλωψ δὲ στενάχων τε καὶ ὠδίνων ὀδύνῃσι,*
> *χερσὶ ψηλαφόων.*
>
> *Od.* ix. 415.

> *οὐδ' εἴ κεν μάλα πολλὰ πάθοι ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων*
> *προπροκυλινδόμενος πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.*
>
> *Il.* xxii. 220.

Nor does he omit (in c. 20) to give due honour to the famous lines of the *Odyssey*:—

[1] Dionysius' felicitous comment on this line is, *τῇ παρεκτάσει τῶν συλλαβῶν τὸν ἄπαυστον ἐμφαίνειν βουλόμενος ἦχον*, *de Comp.* c. 17.

ἀλλ' ὅτε μέλλοι
ἄκρον ὑπερβαλέειν, τότ' ἀποστρέψασκε κραταιίς·
αὖθις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδής.
Od. xi. 596.

"Does not," he asks, "the structure of the words roll downhill together with the ponderous rock, or rather does not the speed of the narration outstrip the stone's career? Methinks it does[1]."

The concluding part of the treatise is devoted to two principal topics: the varieties of style (cc. 12—24), and the relations of prose to verse and of verse to prose (cc. 25, 26). Of style (or more strictly, of modes of *composition*) there are three kinds: the austere (*αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία, αὐστηρὰ σύνθεσις*), the smooth or florid (*γλαφυρὰ ἢ ἀνθηρά*), and the middle (*κοινή*)[2]. The different styles are characterised at some length and their chief representatives named. Among the representatives of the austere style are Antimachus of Colophon and Empedocles in epic poetry, Pindar in lyric poetry, Aeschylus in tragedy, Thucydides in history, Antiphon in oratory (c. 22)[3]. The smooth or florid style is represented by Hesiod, Sappho, Anacreon, Simonides, Euripides, Ephorus, Theopompus, Isocrates. The actual examples of this style are drawn from Isocrates and Sappho, and it is in this connexion that Dionysius cites the latter's *Hymn to Aphrodite* (c. 23). The middle style unites the excellences of the two others. Its

[1] *οὐχὶ συγκατακεκύλισται τῷ βάρει τῆς πέτρας ἡ τῶν ὀνομάτων σύνθεσις, μᾶλλον δὲ ἔφθακε τὴν τοῦ λίθου φορὰν τὸ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας τάχος; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, de Comp.* c. 20. With the last clause cp. *π. ὕψ.* c. 27, *νυνὶ δ' ἔφθακεν ἄφνω τὸν μεταβαίνοντα ἡ τοῦ λόγου μετάβασις.*

[2] "The three *ἁρμονίαι*, or styles of *composition*, distinguished by Dionysius, must not be confused with the three *λέξεις*, or styles of *diction*, which he distinguishes in his essay on Demosthenes, cc. 1—3. The *ἁρμονίαι* refer, of course, to the putting together of words; the *λέξεις*, to the choice of words. As to *λέξεις*, Dionysius recognises (1) an *elaborate diction*, which employs farfetched and unusual words, *ἐξηλλαγμένη, περιττὴ λέξις*, of which Thucydides is the great example: (2) a *smooth and plain diction*, *λιτή, ἀφελὴς λέξις*, best represented by Lysias; (3) a *mixed diction*, *μικτὴ καὶ σύνθετος λέξις*, of which the type is Isocrates." Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I. 21 n. 4.

[3] To illustrate the features of this style, Dionysius analyses a dithyramb of Pindar and the opening (cc. 1, 2) of the History of Thucydides.

representatives are: Homer, Stesichorus, Alcaeus, Sophocles, Herodotus, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes (c. 24).

During his discussion, in c. 25, of the relations between poetry and prose Dionysius proclaims himself, in a curious and characteristic way, the hierophant of mysteries no less sacred and hidden than those of Eleusis. "These matters resemble mysteries, and cannot be divulged to the crowd. I should not, therefore, be guilty of impertinence were I to invite those only who are initiated to approach the rites of style, while bidding the profane close the gates of their ears[1]." He then expounds the important principle that prose should be metrical, rhythmical and melodious, and yet not be metre, rhythm, or poem. In the last chapter (c. 26) he treats the converse question how a poem or ode can resemble fine prose. Variety is hampered in poetry by the requirements of metre; this is particularly the case in heroic and iambic poetry. Lyric poetry has greater freedom, as may be seen in Simonides' Ode on Danae, which Dionysius transcribes and thus preserves (together with the wonderful poem of Sappho which he has previously quoted) for future ages.

(2) De Oratoribus Antiquis.—De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene.—De Dinarcho.

If the general principles on which the literary criticism of Dionysius rests can be most conveniently inferred from a detailed study of the *De Compositione Verborum*, their application is nowhere seen to greater advantage than in the various essays devoted to the leading Attic Orators. The question of the uncertain title of the *De Antiquis Oratoribus* or *De Atticis Oratoribus*, has been mentioned already[2]. From

[1] c. 25, μυστηρίοις μὲν οὖν ἔοικεν ἤδη ταῦτα, καὶ οὐκ εἰς πολλοὺς οἷά τέ ἐστιν ἐκφέρεσθαι· ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν εἴην φορτικός, εἰ παρακαλοίην, οἷς θέμις ἐστίν, ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὰς τελετὰς τοῦ λόγου, θύρας δ' ἐπιθέσθαι λέγοιμι ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τοὺς βεβήλους.

[2] pp. 6, 7 supra (together with the notes). It is clear from the prefatory remarks of Dionysius himself (*de Antiq. Or.*, proem., c. 5) that he intends, if permitted (ἐὰν ἐγχωρῇ), to write also περὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν.

the passages then quoted in the notes it will also have been seen that Dionysius divided his treatise into two sections, the first including three earlier (Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus), the second three later orators (Demosthenes, Hyperides, Aeschines). The *De Lysia*, *De Isocrate*, and *De Isaeo* are extant, while the *De Hyperide* and *De Aeschine* have been lost. As already stated, the extant essay on Demosthenes may, or may not belong to this series. If we could recover the lost introduction to it, we should possibly find that the essay was issued as an enlarged edition of an earlier work[1]. The *De Dinarcho* (although grouped here for convenience) undoubtedly belongs to an altogether different series[2]. It is well known that Dionysius was either ignorant of, or (as is more probable) ignored, the so-called 'Attic Canon' of Ten Orators.

The three essays devoted to Lysias, Isocrates, and Isaeus are modelled on an identical plan,—one which comprises a few particulars of the life of each orator, an estimate of his style (under such headings as λεκτικὸς τόπος, ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων, σύνθεσις, ἀρεταὶ τῆς λέξεως, etc.), a similar estimate of his skill in dealing with his subject-matter (the headings here being πραγματικὸς τόπος, εὕρεσις, οἰκονομία, etc.), some comparisons of one orator with another, and a number of illustrative extracts. The object of Dionysius, in the writings here under discussion, was "not to complete a set of biographies or essays, but to establish a standard for Greek prose, applicable alike to oratory and to every other branch of composition. He considers the orators, accordingly, less as individual writers than as representatives of tendencies. He seeks to determine their mutual relations, and, with the aid of the results thus obtained, to trace a historical development[3]."

Largely through the influence of the book just quoted, that portion of the literary criticism of Dionysius which gathers round the Attic Orators is better known to English

[1] This interesting suggestion is made in Vol. v. p. 363 of the *Histoire de la Littérature grecque* of MM. A. and M. Croiset.

[2] Cp. p. 6 n. 2 supra.

[3] Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I. lxv.

students than any other. Consequently no great space need here be given to this part of his literary work. Some of the chief points in his singularly happy estimate of **Lysias** will be recalled when it is mentioned that he praises him for such qualities as his purity of expression, his gift of characterisation and his unfailing propriety, his vividness and his inimitable charm[1].

To **Isocrates** also high praise is awarded on certain sides. Dionysius discerns not only the great importance of Isocrates in the evolution of Greek prose style, but also his essential nobility of aim. With regard to this latter characteristic he says, "the strongest exhortations to virtue are to be found in the speeches of Isocrates. I maintain that those who would learn the secret of patriotism, not in part only but in its fulness, should have this orator at their fingers' ends.....He shows (sc. in one of his speeches) that it is not a large fleet of warships, nor Greeks governed by force, that make a country great, but righteous aims and the succour of the wronged[2]." At the same time he is quite alive to such weak points of Isocrates as his excessive regard for smoothness of style and a pleasant cadence. "The thought is often the slave of rhythmical expression, and truth is sacrificed to elegance.....Now the natural course is for the expression to follow the ideas, not the ideas the expression[3]." Elsewhere he condemns his tameness and his verbosity: "He cannot move his hearers when he wishes it, and for the most part he does not even wish it.....His style [in a certain passage] should have struck home like a blow. As a matter of fact,

[1] The references to the *De Lysia* are: c. 2 (*καθαρόν ἐστι τὴν ἑρμηνείαν πάντων καὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς γλώττης ἄριστος κανών*: cp. *τὸ καθαρὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων* and *ἡ ἀκρίβεια τῆς διαλέκτου* in c. 13, where a general summary is given), c. 8 (*ἠθοποιΐα*), c. 9 (*τὸ πρέπον*), c. 7 (*ἐνάργεια*), c. 11 (*χάρις*).

[2] *De Isocrate* c. 4, *κράτιστα γὰρ δὴ παιδεύματα πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἰσοκράτους ἔστιν εὑρεῖν λόγοις. καὶ ἔγωγέ φημι χρῆναι τοὺς μέλλοντας οὐχὶ μέρος τι τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως ἀλλ' ὅλην αὐτὴν κτήσασθαι τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν ῥήτορα διὰ χειρός. ibid.* c. 7, *ἐπιδείκνυταί τε ὡς οὐχ αἱ πολλαὶ τριήρεις οὐδ' οἱ μετὰ βίας ἀρχόμενοι Ἕλληνες μεγάλην ποιοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' αἱ δίκαιαί τε προαιρέσεις καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν.*

[3] *ibid.* c. 12, *δουλεύει γὰρ ἡ διάνοια πολλάκις τῷ ῥυθμῷ τῆς λέξεως καὶ τοῦ κομψοῦ λείπεται τὸ ἀληθινόν.....βούλεται δὲ ἡ φύσις τοῖς νοήμασιν ἕπεσθαι τὴν λέξιν, οὐ τῇ λέξει τὰ νοήματα.* Cp. c 2 *ibid.*

it is supple, and smooth, and glides gently through the ear like oil[1]."

The significance of **Isaeus**, no less than of Isocrates, as a factor in the development of Greek prose style is fully recognised by Dionysius. "If I were asked why I have included Isaeus, imitator as he is of Lysias, I should give as my reason that in his speeches are to be sought (as it seems to me) the germs and first-beginnings of the oratorical power of Demosthenes, which is universally regarded as the height of perfection[2]." But highly as Isaeus is esteemed by Dionysius, he is in one particular rated lower than Lysias. His speeches do not seem so *natural* as those of his predecessor. "Any one reading the narrative passages of Lysias, far from suspecting art or trickery, would rather discern the promptings of nature and truth, overlooking the simple fact that the imitation of nature is the highest triumph of art..... Lysias (so it seems to me) pursues reality, Isaeus art; the one aims at charm, the other at intensity[3]."—It may be added here that though the essays on **Aeschines** and **Hyperides** have been lost, some estimate of the former orator will be found in *De Imit. II. Epit.* c. 5, of the latter in the same chapter of the *De Imit. Epit.* and also in the *De Dinarcho*, cc. 1, 6, 7.

[1] *De admir. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 18, παθαίνειν τε οὐ δύναται τοὺς ἀκροωμένους, ὁπόσα βούλεται, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ οὐδὲ βούλεται. *ibid.* c. 20, τραχεῖαν γὰρ ἕδει καὶ πικρὰν εἶναι καὶ πληγῇ τι παραπλήσιον ποιεῖν. ἡ δ' ἔστιν ὑγρὰ καὶ ὁμαλὴ καὶ ὥσπερ ἔλαιον ἀψοφητὶ διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς ῥέουσα. Much excellent criticism of Isocrates is to be found in c. 2 and cc. 16—20 of the above treatise. (For the word ὑγρά cp. π. ὕψ. xxxiv. 3.)

[2] *De Isaeo* c. 20, τὸν δὲ δὴ τρίτον Ἰσαῖον εἴ τις ἔροιτό με τίνος ἕνεκα προσεθέμην, Λυσίου δὴ ζηλωτὴν ὄντα, ταύτην ἂν αὐτῷ φαίην τὴν αἰτίαν, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος, ἣν οὐθεὶς ἐστιν ὃς οὐ τελειοτάτην ἁπασῶν οἴεται γενέσθαι, τὰ σπέρματα καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ παρασχεῖν.—To Dionysius Lysias is important as the *beau idéal* of the adroit advocate, Isocrates as the most eminent of the panegyrists, Isaeus as marking a stage in the transition to Demosthenes.

[3] *De Isaeo* c. 16, τοῦ Λυσίου μὲν δή τις ἀναγινώσκων τὰς διηγήσεις οὐδὲν ἂν ὑπολάβοι λέγεσθαι κατὰ τέχνην ἢ πονηρίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἡ φύσις καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια φέρει, αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοῶν τῆς τέχνης, ὅτι τὸ μιμήσασθαι τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς μέγιστον ἔργον ἦν. c. 18.....ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ Λυσίας μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν διώκειν μᾶλλον, Ἰσαῖος δὲ τὴν τέχνην, καὶ ὁ μὲν στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ χαριέντως, ὁ δὲ τοῦ δεινῶς.—The superior naturalness of the proems of Lysias is well exemplified in cc. 7 ff.

Dionysius refers to the supremacy of **Demosthenes** among orators as a universally admitted fact[1]. He also emphasizes his own view that, among the orations of Demosthenes, the *De Corona* holds the foremost place[2]. Something of the same sort might, truly enough, be said of Dionysius' own essay on Demosthenes. In its own way, and within its own limits, it well deserves the title of 'masterpiece' which has been accorded to it[3]. Into none of his studies of the Greek Orators has Dionysius thrown himself with more vigour and enthusiasm. It is his delight to show that Demosthenes "disdained to be an imitator of any single style or man. He saw that they were all half-finished and incomplete, and from them all he chose and wove together the best and most useful elements, and fashioned one language out of many.....His style resembles the fabled Proteus of our ancient poets[4]." Moreover, the effect of his speeches on their readers is wonderful, and the effect on their original hearers must have been more wonderful still: "When I take up one of his speeches, I am entranced and carried hither and thither, stirred now by one emotion, now by another. I feel distrust, anxiety, fear, disdain, hatred, pity, good-will, anger, jealousy. I am agitated by every passion in turn that can sway the human heart, and I am like those who are being initiated into wild mystic rites..... When we who are centuries removed from that time, and are in no way affected by the matters at issue, are thus carried off our feet and mastered and borne wherever the discourse leads us, what must have been the feelings excited by the speaker in the minds of the Athenians and the Greeks generally, when living interests of their own were

[1] Cp. *De Isaeo* c. 20 (quoted on preceding page).

[2] *De Comp.* c. 25, ἑτέρου (λόγου).....τοῦ πάνυ ἡρμηνεῦσθαι δαιμονίως δοκοῦντος τοῦ ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος, ὃν ἐγὼ κράτιστον ἀποφαίνομαι πάντων λόγων. Cp. *De admir. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 14, οὗτος γὰρ δή μοι δοκεῖ καλλίστῃ καὶ μετριωτάτῃ κατασκευῇ λέξεως κεχρῆσθαι ὁ λόγος.

[3] Blass, *Griech. Bereds.*, p. 180.

[4] *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 8, ἑνὸς μὲν οὐθενὸς ἠξίωσε γενέσθαι ζηλωτὴς οὔτε χαρακτῆρος οὔτε ἀνδρός, ἡμίεργους τινὰς ἅπαντας οἰόμενος εἶναι καὶ ἀτελεῖς, ἐξ ἁπάντων δ' αὐτῶν ὅσα κράτιστα καὶ χρησιμώτατα ἦν ἐκλεγόμενος συνύφαινε καὶ μίαν ἐκ πολλῶν διάλεκτον ἀπετέλει.....οὐδὲν διαλλάττουσαν τοῦ μεμυθευμένου παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ποιηταῖς Πρωτέως.

at stake, and when the great orator, whose reputation stood so high, spoke from the heart, and laid bare the inmost feelings that inspired his soul[1]."

From Demosthenes to **Deinarchus** (*ὁ κρίθινος Δημοσθένης*) is a long step downwards. But this does not prevent Dionysius' account of Deinarchus from being, of its kind, an excellent piece of work. The design of the series to which it belongs was in the main biographical. Not Deinarchus only, but Lysias (cp. *de Lysia*, cc. 12, 14), Isaeus (cp. *de Isaeo*, c. 2), and other orators, were included in the set. The essay on Deinarchus proves at once the thoroughness and the independence of the studies of Dionysius. The subject had, he tells us, been faultily treated by previous authorities, and he had therefore to rely upon himself. He gives brief particulars of the life, and some estimate of the style, of Deinarchus. But his chief aim is to compile a list of that orator's speeches, discriminating the spurious from the genuine. The speeches are, therefore, classified under heads as follows: (1) genuine (*γνήσιοι*) public speeches, (2) spurious (*ψευδεπίγραφοι*) public speeches, (3) genuine private speeches, (4) spurious private speeches. In mentioning each speech care is taken to give (for its better identification) not only its title or description, but also the words with which it opens. Particular speeches are rejected by Dionysius on grounds of chronology or of inferior workman-

[1] *De adm. vi. dic. in Dem.* c. 22, *ὅταν δὲ <τῶν> Δημοσθένους τινὰ λάβω λόγον, ἐνθουσιῶ τε καὶ δεῦρο κἀκεῖσε ἄγομαι, πάθοι ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου μεταλαμβάνων, ἀπιστῶν, ἀγωνιῶν, δεδιώς, καταφρονῶν, μισῶν, ἐλεῶν, εὐνοῶν, ὀργιζόμενος, φθονῶν, ἅπαντα τὰ πάθη μεταλαμβάνων, ὅσα κρατεῖν πέφυκεν ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης· διαφέρειν τε οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ δοκῶ τῶν τὰ μητρῷα καὶ τὰ κορυβαντικὰ καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι, τελουμένων.....ὅπου γὰρ ἡμεῖς οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπηρτημένοι τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ οὐθὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπονθότες οὕτως ὑπαγόμεθα καὶ κρατούμεθα καί, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος ἄγῃ, πορευόμεθα, πῶς τότε Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤγοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀληθινῶν τε καὶ ἰδίων ἀγώνων, αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἐκείνου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ τῆς ἀξιώσεως, ἧς εἶχε, τὴν αὐτοπάθειαν καὶ τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποδεικνυμένου.*— Certain passages in the *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* (e.g. c. 43) and in the *De Comp. Verb.* (e.g. c. 23) prove that Dionysius was sensitive to matters connected with rhythm, and with the avoidance or allowance of hiatus, which might easily escape a modern reader. His hints have, indeed, led in modern times to the formulation of more definite rules than he has himself transmitted to us: cp. Sandys, *Ciceronis ad M. Brutum Orator*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

ship[1]. In the result, 29 public and 31 private orations are assigned to Deinarchus, while the remainder (numbering more than 27: the loss of the conclusion of the essay precludes a more precise statement) are declared to be spurious. It may be added that, where (as is the case not with Deinarchus but with other orators) modern criticism has had an opportunity of forming an independent opinion, it has usually concurred in the views of Dionysius on questions of authenticity.

(3) Ep. ad Ammaeum I.

In the *De Dinarcho* we see Dionysius at his best as a literary historian, a rôle which (as already indicated) fits him far better than that of the general historian. It is a question of literary history also that forms the subject of *Ep. ad Amm. I.* Of this Epistle, as it is one of the three edited in this volume, a short summary, chapter by chapter, may conveniently be offered here.

SUMMARY.

c. 1. A Peripatetic philosopher, whose name is not given, had undertaken to prove that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle was earlier than the speeches of Demosthenes, who owed his success as an orator to the observance of its precepts.

c. 2. Dionysius, in a letter addressed to his friend Ammaeus, proposes to refute this assertion.

c. 3. He desires to show that Demosthenes was at the height of his fame, and had delivered his most celebrated speeches, at the time when Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric.*

c. 4. The dates of the birth of Demosthenes and of the delivery of twelve of his speeches are assigned. All these dates are earlier than the end of the Olynthian War (348 B.C.).

[1] A good example of the application of the chronological test may be quoted from the *De Dinarcho* c. 13, where the dry conclusion 'Deinarchus was not ten years old at the time' is noteworthy: Πρὸς Πεδιέα παραγραφή. 'κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον.' οὗτος ὁ λόγος εἴρηται ἐπὶ Ἀριστοδήμου ἄρχοντος, ὡς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου γίνεται δῆλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σάμον ἀποσταλέντες κληροῦχοι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἀπεστάλησαν, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις λέγει. Δεινάρχου δ' οὕτω δέκατον ἔτος τηνικαῦτα εἶχε.

c. 5. Annals of the life of Aristotle.

cc. 6, 7. In the *Rhetoric* Aristotle refers to his *Topics*, *Analytics*, and *Methodics*; and this of itself is enough to show that he was no stripling, but a man of mature years, when he wrote the former work.

c. 8. Aristotle mentions the Olynthian War in the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*.

c. 9. According to the historian Philochorus, this war took place in the archonship of Callimachus, 349 B.C.—Therefore the twelve speeches in question (four against Philip, three on Greek affairs, and five written for the law-courts) must be anterior to the *Rhetoric*.

c. 10. The same assertion may be made with regard to twelve other speeches of Demosthenes which fall between the Olynthian war and that which broke out in 339 B.C. and ended with the battle of Chaeronea in the following year. The dates of these speeches are given.

c. 11. The comparison of a passage of the *Rhetoric* (ii. 23) with passages drawn from the *Annals* of Philochorus and from the *De Corona* shows that the treatise of Aristotle was subsequent to the archonship of Lysimachides (339 B.C.), and therefore subsequent to this second set of twelve speeches.

c. 12. More than this, the *Rhetoric* was subsequent to the *De Corona* itself (330 B.C.). This appears, according to Dionysius, from a passage of the *Rhetoric* (ii. 23) in which Aristotle actually alludes to the *De Corona*.—General conclusion. The orator has not derived from the philosopher the art with which his speeches are written. Rather, the philosopher has based his *Rhetoric* on an examination of the works of Demosthenes and of the orators generally.

The above short sketch of its contents, if supplemented by the Chronological Table to be given later, will show that this Letter to Ammaeus, short as it seems in comparison with some of the more elaborate essays of its author, is yet founded on solid study and wide research. In his eager desire to check those Peripatetics of his day who were inclined to exalt the influence of Aristotle beyond all due measure, Dionysius is betrayed sometimes into overstatement and inaccuracy. But to appreciate his investigation at its true worth, we have only to consider what gaps in our knowledge its loss would have

meant. Its contributions to the chronology of Demosthenes' speeches, and of Aristotle's life, are particularly important.

(4) **Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium,** and the **De Imitatione.**

The contents of the *Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium* can be indicated very briefly. The Letter is specially interesting because of the light it throws on Dionysius' attitude towards Plato, a point to which we must recur in a moment.

SUMMARY.

c. 1. Dionysius has received a letter from Pompeius, expressing surprise at the treatment of Plato in the otherwise admirable works of the author. Dionysius explains his attitude, and undertakes to defend it. If he has resorted to the method of comparison, he has not done so unnecessarily or without good precedent.

c. 2. A passage characterising the style of Plato is reproduced from the *De admiranda vi dicendi in Demosthene* (cc. 5, 6). From the judgment there pronounced Dionysius cannot recede. He seeks, indeed, to show that Pompeius, as well as he, recognises the occasional lapses to which genius is subject.

c. 3. Pompeius has sought, further, to learn the views of Dionysius with reference to Herodotus and Xenophon. This leads Dionysius to quote from the Second Book of his *De Imitatione* (περὶ μιμήσεως) a long passage (extending to the end of the Letter) relating to several Greek historians of note. In the present chapter Herodotus and Thucydides are compared, with regard to choice and treatment of subject-matter and with regard to style.

c. 4. Appreciation of Xenophon under the two aspects of subject-matter and style. Comparison with Herodotus.

c. 5. Similar criticism of Philistus, and comparison with Thucydides.

c. 6. Similar estimate of Theopompus.

In the third chapter Dionysius explains the scope of each of the three books of his *De Imitatione*, and states that the last of the three was not yet finished. None of the books now survive, though we can gauge the general character of the second from the extract here given and from a passage

occurring at the commencement of the *De Thucydide*. The fragments once classified under the title *De Veterum Censura* (*τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις*) belong to an *Epitome* of the *De Imitatione* made by some late hand. In its original form, the work must have been one of the most important literary productions of Dionysius.

What, now, are the criticisms which Dionysius, greatly daring, permits himself to pass upon Plato? They are to be found not only in the *Ep. ad Pompeium*, but in the *De adm. vi dic. in Demosth.* (cc. 5, 6, 23—29, 32) and in the *De Comp.* (c. 18). In the *De Compositione* the remarks of Dionysius are laudatory, but subject to a certain qualification. "Plato has a marvellous sense of melody and rhythm. And if his skill in choosing his words had equalled his uncommon gifts of composition, he would have outstript Demosthenes in beauty of literary expression, or brought the race to an even finish. As it is, he commits some blunders in his choice of diction, especially where he affects an elevated, unusual, and highly wrought style[1]." The passage repeated in the *ad Pompeium* (c. 2) from the *De admir. vi dic. in Dem.* (cc. 5, 6) is of the same general tenour, and lays stress on the view that Plato is not at his best when he is most elaborate. Later on (c. 23) in the essay on Demosthenes, Dionysius explains his position more fully. He has declined, he there says, to be awed into silence by respect for a great name, and he is ready to submit the issue to the judgment of all unbiassed men of letters. His strictures appertain, we may add, chiefly to the department of style, and are supported by various quotations from the *Menexenus*. The selection of the *Menexenus* (an inferior, if not a spurious work) shows no prejudice on the part of Dionysius except that of his vocation[2]. He is a

[1] *De Comp.* c. 18, *ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ εὐμέλειάν τε καὶ εὐρυθμίαν συνιδεῖν δαιμονιώτατος. καὶ εἴ γε δεινὸς ἦν οὕτως ἐκλέξαι τὰ ὀνόματα, ὡς συνθεῖναι περιττός, καὶ νύ κεν ἡ παρέλασσε τὸν Δημοσθένη κάλλους ἁρμηνείας εἵνεκεν, ἢ ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκε· νῦν δὲ δὴ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογήν ἐστιν ἃ διαμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον διώκῃ φράσιν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτέρωθί μοι δηλοῦται.*

[2] The summary criticism he gives (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 29) of the *Menexenus* seems to show that he recognises it as a distinctly inferior work of its author: *δι' ὅλου γὰρ ἂν τις εὕροι τοῦ λόγου πορευόμενος τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς οὐδὲ*

rhetorician, and it is as a teacher of rhetoric that he judges Plato. Like other rhetoricians, he tends to think of authors chiefly as subjects for *imitation*, a topic on which he had himself written three books[1]. And with the robust common-

λεπτῶς εἰρημένα, τὰ δὲ μειρακιωδῶς καὶ ψυχρῶς, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα ἰσχὺν καὶ τόνον, τὰ δὲ ἡδονῆς ἐνδεᾶ καὶ χαρίτων, τὰ δὲ διθυραμβώδη καὶ φορτικά. ἐγὼ δ' ἥξιουν πάντα γενναῖα εἶναι καὶ σπουδῆς ἄξια. Πλάτων γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, ὃς εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ πρωτεῖα οἴσεται τῆς λέξεως, περί γε τῶν δευτερείων πολὺν ἀγῶνα παρέξει τοῖς διαμιλλησομένοις. The striking passage at the beginning of c. 32 of the same essay also shows clearly (in connexion with the *Menexenus*) Dionysius' appreciation of reality—his sense of the futility of a mere rhetorical exercise.

[1] Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 25, δεηθεὶς σοῦ πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλολόγων τῶν ἐντευξομένων τῇ γραφῇ, τὸ βούλημά μου τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἧς προῄρημαι σκοπεῖν, ὅτι χαρακτῆρός ἐστι δήλωσις ἅπαντα περιειληφυῖα τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ καὶ δεόμενα λόγου, σκοπὸν ἔχουσα τὴν ὠφέλειαν αὐτῶν τῶν βουλησομένων μιμεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. *ad Pomp.* c. 3, τούτους γὰρ ἐγκρίνω τοὺς ἄνδρας <ὡς> εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους. See also the concluding words of the Letter to Pompeius.

In reference to this question of *imitation*, it is important to bear in mind two points. (1) *Imitation* was a regular part of the training given in the rhetorical schools. Cp. [Cornificius] *ad Herennium* i. 2, 3, 'Haec omnia tribus adsequi poterimus: arte, imitatione, exercitatione.' Oratorical excellence, that is to say, depends on the study of the theory of rhetoric, on imitation, and on practice; and imitation is further defined as follows, 'imitatio est, qua inpellimur cum diligenti ratione ut aliquorum similes in dicendo velimus esse' (*ibid.*). (2) It is expressly stated by Dionysius that there were perverse *imitators* of Plato and Thucydides (not to mention other Attic writers) who aped their eccentricities rather than their true excellences. *de Dinarcho* c. 8, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πλάτωνα μιμεῖσθαι λέγοντες καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὑψηλὸν καὶ εὔχαρι καὶ καλὸν οὐ δυνάμενοι λαβεῖν, διθυραμβώδη δὲ ὀνόματα καὶ φορτικὰ εἰσφέροντες κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέγχονται ῥᾳδίως. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 23, ἐπεί τινες ἀξιοῦσι πάντων αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν φιλοσόφων τε καὶ ῥητόρων ἑρμηνεῦσαι τὰ πράγματα δαιμονιώτατον παρακελεύονταί τε ἡμῖν ὅρῳ καὶ κανόνι χρῆσθαι καθαρῶν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχυρῶν λόγων τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρί. *de Dinarcho* c. 8, οἱ δὲ Θουκυδίδην ζηλοῦν λέγοντες καὶ τὸ μὲν εὔτονον καὶ στερεὸν καὶ δεινὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια χαλεπῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ σολοικοφανεῖς σχηματισμοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀσαφὲς προχειριζόμενοι, πάνυ εὐχερῶς ἂν ἁλίσκοιντο ἐκ τούτου τοῦ παραγγέλματος. With this view of the imitators of Thucydides, cp. Cic. *Orat.* c. 9 § 30 'ecce autem aliqui se Thucydidios esse profitentur, novum quoddam imperitorum et inauditum genus,' and § 32 'huius (Thuc.) tamen nemo neque verborum neque sententiarum gravitatem imitatur; sed, cum mutila quaedam et hiantia locuti sunt, quae vel sine magistro facere potuerunt, germanos se putant esse Thucydidios. nactus sum etiam, qui Xenophontis similem esse se cuperet, cuius sermo est ille quidem melle dulcior, sed a forensi strepitu remotissimus.' Dionysius' own advice on the subject of imitation is given in *de Thucyd.* c. 55, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ὑποτίθεσθαι τοῖς γε δὴ τὰς κρίσεις ἀδιαστρόφους ἔτι φυλάσσουσι, Δημοσθένει συμβούλῳ χρησαμένους, ὃν ἁπάντων ῥητόρων κράτιστον γεγενῆσθαι πειθόμεθα, ταύτας μιμεῖσθαι τὰς κατασκευάς, ἐν αἷς ἥ τε βραχύτης καὶ ἡ δεινότης καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς καὶ

sense which characterises him he sees that the imitation of Plato is likely to lead lesser mortals into much foolish extravagance. This is perhaps the best explanation that can be suggested of Dionysius' attitude, though it must be admitted that he seems sometimes to show himself blind to the fine irony and other subtle qualities for which Plato is so remarkable[1]. He is, however, unquestionably right in maintaining that, from the limited point of view to which he confines himself (viz. the history of the development of Greek oratorical prose), Demosthenes is a more important figure than even the great idealist Plato with his mighty imaginative range and his wonderful charm of style.

(5) **Ep. ad Ammaeum II** and the **De Thucydide.**

The *First Letter to Ammaeus* dealt with a literary problem, the supposed indebtedness of Demosthenes to Aristotle. The interest of the *Second Letter* is rather grammatical or linguistic than literary, its subject being the peculiarities of the style of Thucydides.

SUMMARY.

c. 1. Ammaeus had urged that the observations previously published by Dionysius on the style of Thucydides would be more concrete and convincing if accompanied by specific examples. Dionysius acts upon the suggestion.

c. 2. As a basis for the present supplement, Dionysius quotes from the twenty-fourth chapter of his longer treatise, the *De Thucydide*,

ὁ τόνος καὶ ἡ μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ αἱ συγγενεῖς ταύταις ἀρεταὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰσὶ φανεραί· τὰς δὲ αἰνιγματώδεις καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτους καὶ γραμματικῶν ἐξηγήσεων δεομένας καὶ πολὺ τὸ βεβασανισμένον καὶ τὸ σολοικοφανὲς ἐν τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς ἐχούσας μήτε θαυμάζειν μήτε μιμεῖσθαι. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* c. 9 § 30, 'ipsae illae contiones ita multas habent obscuras abditasque sententias, vix ut intellegantur; quod est in oratione civili vitium vel maximum.'

[1] Instances of this apparent insensibility will be found in *ad Pomp.* c. 1 ad fin.—For a discussion of Dionysius' strictures on Plato's style, reference may be made to a paper by Arnaud in *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXVII. pp. 1—22, entitled 'Mémoire sur le Stile de Platon en général; et en particulier, sur l'objet que ce Philosophe s'est proposé dans son dialogue intitulé *Ion*.'

a summary account of the distinguishing features of Thucydidean idiom. This account is now to be illustrated point by point.

c. 3. The employment (by Thucydides) of obscure, obsolete, difficult and poetical words.

c. 4. Employment of periphrasis and brachylogy.

c. 5. Use of noun for verb.

c. 6. Use of verb for noun. [The topic of the interchange of common and proper nouns seems to have been omitted by Dionysius, or to have been accidentally lost.]

c. 7. Use of active for passive voice.

c. 8. Use of passive for active.

c. 9. Interchange of singular and plural number.

c. 10. Confusion of the three genders.

c. 11. Use of cases.

c. 12. Use of tenses.

c. 13. Sense-constructions whereby the plural number is substituted for the singular or the singular for the plural. [Between chapters 13 and 14 would naturally have come the topics which are suggested by the words *ἐν δὲ τοῖς συνδετικοῖς.....φαντασίας* in c. 2. The explanation of the omission must again be either the negligence of Dionysius or the faultiness of our manuscript tradition.]

c. 14. Substitution of persons for things and of things for persons.

c. 15. Parentheses.

c. 16. Involved expressions.

c. 17. Showy figures of the rhetoricians[1].

The *Second Letter to Ammaeus* refers us to the *De Thucydide*, and that treatise raises the general question of the attitude of Dionysius towards Thucydides. Not that the *De Thucydide* (taken together with its appendix, the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*) is the only part of his writings in which Dionysius expresses his views of Thucydides. Further indications will be found in the third chapter (itself copied from the *De Imitatione*) of the *Letter to Pompeius*, in chapter twenty-two of the *De Compositione*, and in chapters one, nine

[1] The structure of this Letter is discussed, clearly and concisely, in a recent number of the *American Journal of Philology*: *vide* second section of the *Bibliography*, under the year 1899.

and ten of the *De admir. vi dicendi in Demosthene.* But as a comprehensive treatise expressly devoted to this subject, the *De Thucydide* is the capital document to which we naturally turn in order to ascertain Dionysius' matured estimate of the great historian.

The History of Thucydides is considered in the *De Thucydide* under the two usual divisions of subject-matter (cc. 6—20) and of style (cc. 21—55). It will be convenient here to reverse the order and take the department of style first. Dionysius has both praise and blame for the style of Thucydides. He can transcribe a really great passage (vii. 69—72) of Thucydides, and pay a really fine tribute to it (*de Thucyd.* cc. 26, 27). He can at the same time point out that another passage (iii. 81, 82) is of a distinctly inferior character (*de Thucyd.* cc. 29 ff.), and he is in one case audacious enough to suggest a smoother version (*ibid.* c. 25). The general conclusion reached is that the narrative passages are, with few exceptions, altogether admirable and adapted for every kind of service, whereas the speeches are not all suitable for imitation[1]. Thus we come once more to the consideration ever uppermost in Dionysius' mind, that of *imitation*, and we have to imagine the absurdities to which the attempts of ambitious speakers to imitate Thucydides must have led[2]. Like imitators generally, they caught the mannerisms rather than the manner, the eccentricities rather than the essential features.

But in reviewing the work of Thucydides, Dionysius goes further than when dealing with Plato. Feeling himself to be not only a rhetorician but a historian, he has dealt with Thucydides from the point of view of subject-matter; and the third chapter of his *Letter to Pompeius* accordingly furnishes some strange reading. It is not so much that he prefers the subject chosen by Herodotus to that chosen by Thucydides. Others since his time have entertained and defended this

[1] *De Thucyd.* c. 55, τὸ διηγηματικὸν μέρος αὐτῆς πλὴν ὀλίγων πάνυ θαυμαστῶς ἔχειν καὶ εἰς πάσας εἶναι τὰς χρείας εὔθετον, τὸ δὲ δημηγορικὸν οὐχ ἅπαν εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι.

[2] Cp. p. 29 n. 1 *supra*.

preference, and Dionysius himself gives a more judicious statement of his views on the point in the sixth chapter of his *De Thucydide* and (indirectly) in the introduction to his *Antiquitates*. What distresses the reader is the seeming assumption that the prime object of history is to please or to instruct rather than simply to tell the truth; and not even the tribute paid to Thucydides as a truth-teller in the later and more mature *De Thucydide* (cc. 7, 8) can entirely remove the unsatisfactory impression left in this respect by the *Letter to Pompeius*. In this matter Dionysius falls far short of the ideal sketched by Polybius before him, and after him by Lucian[1].

Under the heading of subject-matter (*τὸ πραγματικὸν μέρος*), Dionysius discusses (*de Thucyd.* cc. 1, 20) not only Thucydides' choice of theme but also his method of handling it (*οἰκονομία*). The topic of *οἰκονομία* ('management') in its turn yields such subdivisions as 'distribution' (*διαίρεσις*), 'order' (*τάξις*) and 'treatment in detail' (*ἐξεργασία*), under which headings he groups criticisms of the annalistic method of Thucydides, of the opening and the abrupt ending of his History, of the place assigned to the famous 'Funeral Oration,' of the supposed want of proportion shown in various parts of the work. But these detailed criticisms we cannot now enter into. Enough to say that, if some of them are well-founded, others seem to show that Dionysius was greatly lacking in width of view and in historical perspective. He has, however, as has been (perhaps too piquantly) observed,

[1] Polyb. *Hist.* i. 14, 4: *καὶ γὰρ φιλόφιλον δεῖ εἶναι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλόπατριν, καὶ συμμισεῖν τοῖς φίλοις τοὺς ἐχθρούς, καὶ συναγαπᾶν τοὺς φίλους. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ἱστορίας ἦθος ἀναλαμβάνῃ τις, ἐπιλαθέσθαι χρὴ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων.* Lucian, *de conscrib. hist.* 41, *τοιοῦτος οὖν μοι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἔστω, ἄφοβος, ἀδέκαστος, ἐλεύθερος, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος, ὡς ὁ κωμικός φησι, τὰ σῦκα σῦκα, τὴν σκάφην δὲ σκάφην ὀνομάζων, οὐ μίσει οὐδὲ φιλίᾳ τι νέμων, οὐδὲ φειδόμενος ἢ ἐλεῶν ἢ αἰσχυνόμενος ἢ δυσωπούμενος, ἴσος δικαστής, εὔνους ἅπασιν ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ θατέρῳ ἀποσεῖμαι πλεῖον τοῦ δέοντος, ξένος ἐν τοῖς βυβλίοις καὶ ἄπολις, αὐτόνομος, ἀβασίλευτος, οὐ τί τῷδε ἢ τῷδε δόξει λογιζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τί πέπρακται λέγων.*—Perhaps it is the rhetorical point of view that causes Dionysius to use the word 'hearer' in referring to the effect produced by various historical works. Thucydides, for example, should have ended his History with 'a most remarkable incident, and one right pleasing to his hearers (*τοῖς ἀκούουσι*), the return of the exiles from Phyle' (*ad Pomp.* c. 3).

cruelly expiated any injustice in his judgments on Thucydides by coming before the world as a historian himself[1].

V. Relation of Dionysius as a Literary Critic to the Romans and to the Greeks.

We pass now from this account of Dionysius' essays in criticism to the question of the relation in which they stand to the Latin and Greek literature of his own and other times. Latin literature, as here coming only to a slight extent under review, may be treated first and summarily.

Following a long-established custom, Dionysius composes his critical writings in the form of letters, addressed to one or other of his literary friends, patrons, or pupils. It is not easy to determine the nationality of all these persons, but **Quintus Aelius Tubero,** to whom the *De Thucydide* is addressed, is clearly a Roman and possibly no other than the eminent jurist and historian. The young **Melitius Rufus,** to whom Dionysius offers the *De Compositione,* was also a Roman, his father being a highly valued friend of the author[2]. **Gnaeus Pompeius Geminus** was, his name notwithstanding, perhaps rather a Greek than a Roman, and will therefore more fitly be considered later.

It would be interesting, did not the inquiry open a somewhat extensive field, to illustrate, by other examples than that of Dionysius, the position occupied at Rome by the Greek men of letters who resided there. We must here be content with quoting Dionysius' own testimony to the part played by Rome in that purification of literary taste to which he himself contributed so much. "I believe that this great revolution (sc. the reversion to the Attic models) was caused and originated by Rome, the mistress of the world, who drew all eyes upon herself. The principal agents were members of **the ruling classes of Rome,** distinguished by their high character and by their excellent conduct of public affairs, and highly

[1] H. Weil, *Denys d'Halicarnasse; Première lettre à Ammée,* p. 6.

[2] *De Comp.* c. 1, ὦ Ῥοῦφε Μελίτιε, πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ κάμοὶ τιμιωτάτου φίλων.

cultivated men of lofty critical instincts. Under their administration the saner elements in the commonwealth have grown still further in strength, and folly has been constrained to be discreet. Accordingly many important historical works are written by men of our day, and many graceful specimens of civil oratory are produced, together with philosophical treatises of no mean order. Many other fine works on which both Romans and Greeks have lavished great pains have appeared, and may be expected to appear; and since so vast a revolution has been effected in so short a time, I should not be surprised if that former fashion of insensate oratory failed to survive another generation. The reduction of a giant bulk to small dimensions may well be followed by complete extinction[1]."

This passage may be taken to imply that Dionysius had at least a general knowledge of the Latin literature which was being produced during his own time. But the knowledge was probably only general. Although he was himself a writer of history and although he had (as he has told us) learnt the Latin language, he never mentions the historian **Livy**—any more than Livy mentions him. Nor does he, literary critic though he is, make any reference to the *Ars Poetica* (or to any other poem) of **Horace.** And yet he must have been a close contemporary of Horace, whose life covered the years 65 to 8 B.C. The fact may be that Dionysius was influenced more directly, and perhaps more healthily, by the Roman men of affairs with whom (or with whose sons) his vocation brought him into contact than by any Roman man

[1] *De Antiq. Orat.*, proem., c. 3, *αἰτία δ' οἶμαι καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἐγένετο ἡ πάντων κρατοῦσα Ῥώμη πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἀναγκάζουσα τὰς ὅλας πόλεις ἀποβλέπειν καὶ ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ δυναστεύοντες κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες, εὐπαίδευτοι πάνυ καὶ γενναῖοι τὰς κρίσεις γενόμενοι, ὑφ' ὧν κοσμούμενον τό τε φρόνιμον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδέδωκεν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον ἠνάγκασται νοῦν ἔχειν. τοιγάρτοι πολλαὶ μὲν ἱστορίαι σπουδῆς ἄξιαι γράφονται τοῖς νῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι πολιτικοὶ χαρίεντες ἐκφέρονται φιλόσοφοί τε συντάξεις οὐ μὰ Δία εὐκαταφρόνητοι ἄλλαι τε πολλαὶ καὶ καλαὶ πραγματεῖαι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἕλλησιν εὖ μάλα διεσπουδασμέναι προεληλύθασί τε καὶ προελεύσονται κατὰ τὸ εἰκός. καὶ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι τηλικαύτης μεταβολῆς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ γεγενημένης, εἰ μηκέτι χωρήσει προσωτέρω μιᾶς γενεᾶς ὁ ζῆλος ἐκεῖνος τῶν ἀνοήτων λόγων· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ παντὸς εἰς ἐλάχιστον συναχθὲν ῥᾴδιον ἐξ ὀλίγου μηδὲ εἶναι.*

of letters. It is possible also that he felt that his reputation would be exposed to less risk if he confined his criticisms to Greek literature, with which he was intimately familiar, than if he ventured on ground where he could not tread so securely.

The last supposition may help to explain the absence, in Dionysius' critical writings, of any reference to a Roman writer of an earlier generation, whose fame (already great in his lifetime) had had time to grow still greater, since he died some thirteen years before Dionysius came to Rome. Dionysius' friend and contemporary, Caecilius of Calacte, was the author of a comparison (*σύγκρισις*) between **Cicero** and Demosthenes, for making which he was afterwards taxed with temerity by Plutarch (*Demosth. Vit.* c. 3), who likens him to a fish out of water. The author of the *De Sublimitate* (XII. 4) ventures to make the same comparison, but with all due apologies for his deficiencies as a Greek. Dionysius seems to have thought it better to refrain altogether. At all events, be the reason what it may, he never refers to Cicero, whether as an orator or as a writer on rhetoric, nor does he quote, for purposes of literary illustration, from any Latin author whatsoever[1].

It may be added that a similar reluctance to estimate the literary qualities of works written in another language may, indirectly, account for the fact that the critical judgments pronounced on Greek authors by **Quintilian** in the first chapter of the Tenth Book of his *Institutio Oratoria* often bear a marked resemblance to those of the *De Imitatione*. It would seem probable that Quintilian drew them from

[1] A scholiast suggests, with little confidence and less probability, that Dionysius is thinking of Cic. *Brut.* 121 ("Iovem sic aiunt philosophi si Graece loquatur loqui") when, in *De adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 23, he writes: *ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα ἐγὼ λεγόντων, ὡς, εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς διάλεκτός ἐστιν, ἥ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κέχρηται γένος, οὐκ ἄλλως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὧν αὐτῶν διαλέγεται ὁ θεὸς ἢ ὡς Πλάτων.* But a likelier inference is that the 'philosophi' mentioned by Cicero were quoted by Dionysius or by the persons to whom he refers.—Cicero is mentioned (not estimated as a writer) by Dionysius' contemporary Strabo, *Geogr.* 660: *κάνταῦθα δ' ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος γεγένηται ῥήτωρ Μένιππος κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν Κοτοκᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος, ὃν μάλιστα ἐπαινεῖ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ῥητόρων ὧν ἠκροάσατο Κικέρων, ὡς φησιν ἔν τινι γραφῇ αὐτὸς συγκρίνων Ξενοκλεῖ καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἀκμάζουσιν.*

some Greek source which Dionysius himself also used[1]. The coincidences, close as they are, hardly warrant the assumption of direct transference from the pages of Dionysius[2].

It has just been stated, or implied, that Dionysius himself drew from earlier Greek sources. This point needs some little discussion in detail. But before speaking of his Greek predecessors, we shall find it convenient to say a word about his Greek contemporaries. The contemporary name which we most naturally associate with Dionysius of Halicarnassus is that of **Caecilius of Calacte,** his fellow-worker (on somewhat different lines) in the Attic Revival during the age of Augustus. In one of the letters here edited (*ad Pomp.* c. 3 fin.) Dionysius refers affectionately to his "dear friend Caecilius" as concurring with him in a certain view. A fuller account of the life and writings of Caecilius will be found elsewhere[3]. Here it need only be noted that he wrote an essay *On the Sublime*, which formed the controversial basis of the treatise with the same title issued later (probably only shortly later) by the author traditionally known as '**Longinus.**' When it was first observed that the best manuscript ascribes the extant treatise *On the Sublime* "to Dionysius or Longinus," the suggestion was made that Dionysius of Halicarnassus might be its author. But against this speculation, the argument from style and spirit (usually precarious) seems here decisive, even if it were not supported by other kinds of evidence. Dionysius, with the views he held of Plato as

[1] Just as Cicero and Dionysius, or Cornificius and Dionysius, drew from common sources.

[2] Reference may be made to H. Nettleship, *Lectures and Essays* (Second Series), pp. 79—84; W. Peterson, *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Liber Decimus*, pp. xxx—xxxvii; O. Knuth, *Quantum Dionysii Halicarnassensis de veteribus scriptoribus censura ad Quintiliani iudicia valuerit.* H. Usener, *Dionys. Halic. Libr. de Imit. Reliq.*, pp. 110 ff. Domenico Bassi, *Il Libro Decimo della Institutione Oratoria di M. Fabio Quintiliano*, pp. xxvii—xxix.—For a case of close parallelism in another book of Quintilian than the tenth, cp. *Inst. Orat.* i. 4, 18 with the opening of c. 2 of the *de Comp.*—Quintilian mentions Dionysius in *Inst. Orat.* iii. 1, 16; ix. 3, 89; ix. 4, 88.

[3] Cp. "Caecilius of Calacte: a contribution to the history of Greek Literary Criticism" in the *American Journal of Philology*, XVIII. 3, pp. 302—312, and "Longinus on the Sublime" (Cambridge Univ. Press), p. 7 and pp. 220—222.

a writer, could not have admired and imitated him with the fervour shown in the *De Sublimitate*. Not Dionysius, but the friend Pompeius, whom he addresses in the Letter inscribed with his name, adopts the attitude which the unknown writer of the *De Sublimitate* bears towards Plato; and conjecture (if seeking an author in the age of Dionysius) might have done worse than fix on this Pompeius. His full name appears (cp. *ad Pomp.* cc. 1, 2) to have been **Gnaeus Pompeius Geminus.** It is possible that he was some Greek freedman, or Greek client, of the great Pompeius, and that he was named after him. To judge from the latter part of the second chapter of the Letter addressed to him by Dionysius, he wrote in Greek and was a warm admirer of Plato, whose occasional lapses he defended on the principle expounded with much eloquence in the *De Sublimitate*. Probably he practised as a rhetorican, and at Rome. Besides Pompeius, three other contemporaries (**Ammaeus, Demetrius, Zeno**) mentioned by Dionysius appear to have been Greeks, but the question of their identification is attended with many serious difficulties[1]. It may be added that among the later Greek rhetoricians Dionysius enjoyed great fame as one of the most eminent critics of antiquity. It was no doubt his wide reputation in this respect that caused him to be coupled with Longinus in the conjectural title prefixed (probably by Byzantine scholars) to the *De Sublimitate*. He was regarded as a paramount authority on the study of rhetoric[2].

To guide us in estimating the obligations of Dionysius to his predecessors in the province of rhetoric and literary criticism we have a good many statements of his own scattered up and down his critical writings. We find in him some emphatic or qualified declarations of independence, and also many direct or indirect acknowledgments of indebtedness. For example, he states, in the fourth chapter of the *De Compositione*, that when he decided to write a treatise on that subject he looked about to see

[1] See *Classical Review* (reference given at end of *Bibliography*, infra).

[2] Cp. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*, 1. 460, 25: Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς, ὃν κανόνα ἄν τις εἴποι δικαίως τῆς περὶ ῥητορικὴν μελέτης.

whether any previous writers had treated of it. With this object he paid special attention to the philosophers of the Stoic school, who (to do them justice) had given no slight attention to the department of expression. But he had found no contribution, small or great, made by any writer of note to the branch of rhetorical inquiry which he had himself chosen[1]. Similar in tone is the emphatic "I" of which Dionysius is in the habit of making use when he wishes to lay stress upon his own originality[2]. A more qualified claim is advanced in c. 4 of the introduction to the *Ancient Orators*. "These are fine subjects and indispensable for students of political philosophy. Nor indeed are they familiar or hackneyed topics. I myself, at all events, am not aware that I have come across any such book, although I have made diligent search. I do not, however, make any positive assertion with an assumption of certain knowledge. There may well be writings of the kind which have escaped my notice. It is an act of great audacity —one may almost say, of lunacy—to set oneself up as a standard of universal knowledge and to deny the occurrence of something which may possibly have occurred. So on these points, as I said, I have no positive assertion to make[3]." At first sight this curious passage has an air of something like dissimulation about it. But the truth probably rather is that Dionysius is quite sincere and straightforward in

[1] *De Comp.* c. 4, ἐγωγ' οὖν, ὅτε διέγνων συντάττεσθαι ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἐζήτουν, εἴ τι τοῖς πρότερον εἴρηται περὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς φιλοσόφοις, εἰδὼς τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ μικρὰν φροντίδα τοῦ λεκτικοῦ τόπου πεποιημένους· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς τἀληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν. οὐδαμῆ δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς εὑρὼν τῶν ὀνόματος ἠξιωμένων οὔτε μεῖζον οὔτε ἔλαττον συναχθὲν εἰς ἣν ἐγὼ προῄρημαι πραγματείαν, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Cp. *de Lysia*, c. 20, τοιοῦτος μὲν δή ἐστιν ὁ Λυσίου χαρακτήρ, ὡς ἐγὼ δόξης ἔχω περὶ αὐτοῦ. *de Antiq. Orat.* c. 4 (ad fin.), οὓς ἐγὼ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγοῦμαι κρατίστους. With the latter passage cp. *de Dinarcho* c. 1 (init.), ἡμεῖς κρίνομεν. For the *De Dinarcho* itself considerable originality is claimed in its first two chapters.

[3] *De Antiq. Orat.*, proem. c. 4, καλὰ θεωρήματα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ οὐ δήπου μὰ Δία κοινὰ οὐδὲ κατημαξευμένα τοῖς πρότερον. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐδεμιᾷ τοιαύτῃ περιτυχὼν οἶδα γραφῇ, πολλὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν ποιησάμενος. οὐ μέντοι διαβεβαιοῦμαί γε ὡς δὴ καὶ σαφῶς εἰδώς· τάχα γὰρ ἂν εἶέν τινες αἱ ἐμὲ διαλανθάνουσαι τοιαῦται γραφαί, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἁπάντων ἱστορίας ὅρον ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ γεγονέναι τι τῶν δυνατῶν γενέσθαι λέγειν αὔθαδες πάνυ καὶ οὐ πόρρω μανίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν ἔχω, καθάπερ ἔφην, διαβεβαιοῦσθαι.

thus guarding himself against the possibility that, in the multitude of critical writings produced in his own and previous times, something might emerge to convict him of plagiarism!

When acknowledging, as he often does, his indebtedness to his predecessors, Dionysius is given to quoting a half-line of Euripides, "for not mine the word[1]." He also uses such expressions as "much has been said on these topics by our predecessors[2]." And, when occasion demands it, he eschews merely general statements and specifies his authorities by name[3].

The most direct and explicit mention of **Aristotle** in particular will be found in the latter part of the *De Compositione*, where a statement of Dionysius is defended from any possible suspicion of novelty or paradox by a detailed reference to the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*[4]. In the *De Isocr.* c. 18, as elsewhere occasionally in the rhetorical writings, similar references are made to Aristotle as a generally recognised authority. But on the whole, as the second chapter of the *First Letter to Ammaeus* shows, Dionysius is inclined to resist the extravagant claims made by the Peripatetics on behalf of the founder of their school. He reminds the readers of that chapter that eminent services had been rendered to the art of rhetoric not only by philosophers but by a number of

[1] *οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος*, *ad Pomp.* c. 2 (=*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 5 fin.), *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 35 init., *de Isocr.* c. 13 init. The full line possibly was *κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα* Eurip. *Melanippe* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Fragm.*[2] pp. 511, 512). Cp. Plat. *Symp.* 177 A.

[2] *De Comp.* c. 16, *περὶ ὧν εἴρηται πολλὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν*. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 51, *τὴν παρασκευὴν ἣν οἱ παλαιοὶ καλοῦσιν εὕρεσιν*. *de Isocr.* c. 13 ad fin., *πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ταῦτα καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις εἴρηται, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι γράφειν*.

[3] E.g. *de Isocr.* c. 13, *de Isaeo* c. 1.

[4] *De Comp.* c. 25, *καὶ ὅτι ἀληθῆ ταῦτά ἐστι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐγὼ καινοτομῶ, λάβοι μὲν ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους μαρτυρίας τὴν πίστιν· εἴρηται γὰρ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς λέξεως τῆς πολιτικῆς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν, οἷαν αὐτὴν εἶναι προσήκει, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τοιαύτη γένοιτο· ἐν ᾗ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ὀνομάζει ῥυθμούς, καὶ πῇ χρήσιμος ἕκαστος αὐτῶν καταφαίνεται, καὶ λέξεις παρατίθησί τινας, αἷς πειρᾶται βεβαιοῦν τὸν λόγον*. The passage specially in view is *Rhet.* iii. 8, *τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως δεῖ μήτε ἔμμετρον εἶναι μήτε ἄρρυθμον* (cp. Cic. *Orat.* 193, "quia nec numerosa esse, ut poema, neque extra numerum, ut sermo volgi, esse debet oratio"). Dionysius adds that, apart from the authority of Aristotle, experience itself proves the truth of this observation.

orators and professional rhetoricians whose names he mentions. This list deserves a brief analysis. Seven of the names—Antiphon, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Æschines, Lycurgus, Hyperides—belong to the canon of the Ten Attic Orators. Thrasymachus appears in the First Book of Plato's *Republic*, while Theodorus is mentioned in the *Phaedrus* (266 E). Alcidamas was a pupil of Gorgias. Theodectes, Philiscus and Cephisodorus were disciples of Isocrates, Theodectes being known also from Aristotle's *Poetics* as a writer of tragedies[1]. Anaximenes was a rhetorician and historian of the time of Philip and Alexander, and was in all probability the author of the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*, once attributed to Aristotle[2].

A few further comments suggested by the names thus selected may not be amiss. As might have been expected from the adverse judgments of Dionysius elsewhere (e.g. *ad Pomp.* c. 2, *ad Amm. II.* c. 2, *de Isaeo* c. 19), no place is found for Gorgias on the list, though his pupil Alcidamas is there. And yet **Gorgias** of Leontini is the real founder of artistic prose, and extravagance may be condoned (or at any rate, can be understood) in the case of an enthusiastic propagandist. Not only Gorgias, but also his satirist **Plato** is absent from the list of Dionysius, who hardly ever refers to Plato as an authority on any branch of rhetoric[3]. This may partly be because Plato symbolized the old quarrel between philosophy and rhetoric, but it is also connected with the feeling of dislike entertained by Dionysius for vicious imitations of Plato's style.

[1] In referring elsewhere (*de Comp.* c. 2, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 48) to Aristotle and Theodectes together, Dionysius adopts the order Θεοδέκτης καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης.

[2] Criticisms of the merits of some of the authorities here mentioned will be found in *De Isaeo* cc. 19, 20.—From these, and other passages already quoted, it will be clear to the reader how many out-of-the-way pieces of *literary history* we owe to Dionysius: cp. *de Isocr.* c. 18, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 3, *de Thucyd.* cc. 5, 51.

[3] In *De Comp.* c. 16 Plato is recognised as the founder of etymological science: τὰ κράτιστα δὲ νέμω, ὡς πρώτῳ τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐτυμολογίας εἰσαγαγόντι λόγον, Πλάτωνι τῷ Σωκρατικῷ, πολλαχῇ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοθι, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ. In the *De Isocr.* c. 12 there is a reference to Plato's comparative estimate (*Phaedrus* 279 A) of Isocrates and Lysias.

Isocrates, on the other hand, is commended both as a writer and as a theorist[1]. Of the 'philosophy' of Isocrates Dionysius was an ardent admirer (*de Isocr.* cc. 4, 12; *ad Pomp.* c. 6).

There remain certain other names, which do not appear in the enumeration given in the *First Letter to Ammaeus* for the simple reason that they belong to a period later than the one there in question. Foremost among these names is that of **Theophrastus**, the pupil and successor of Aristotle, who is mentioned repeatedly (though not always with approbation) in the rhetorical writings of Dionysius[2]. The influence, direct or indirect, of the lost work of Theophrastus *On Style* (περὶ λέξεως) was probably great. References are also found in Dionysius not only to Peripatetics like Theophrastus, but to **Stoics** (*de Comp.* cc. 2, 4; *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 48) and **Epicureans** (*ibid.* c. 24 ad fin.), as also to **Demetrius Phalereus** (*de Dinarcho* c. 2, *ad Pomp.* c. 2, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 5) and **Demetrius Magnes** (*de Dinarcho* c. 1), to the scholars of **Alexandria** (especially **Callimachus**, *de Dinarcho* cc. 1, 10, *de Isaeo* c. 6, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 13) and of **Pergamus** (τοὺς ἐκ Περγάμου γραμματικούς *de Din.* c. 1, ἐν τοῖς Περγαμηνοῖς πίναξι *ibid.* c. 11: in *ad Amm. I.* c. 4 the expression οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες will cover the librarians both of Alexandria and of Pergamus), and to various writers on metre, rhythm and the like (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 48, *de Comp.* cc. 14, 22)[3]. In general it may be said of Dionysius, in relation to his technical predecessors in the field of literary criticism, that he is a scholar of wide and sound learning who seeks the best wherever he can find it and thinks he finds it rather in the writers of an older generation

[1] The question whether Isocrates wrote an 'Art of Rhetoric' is discussed in Jebb's *Attic Orators*, II. 256—259. [For a similar discussion as to Isaeus, see the same vol. p. 311 n. 1.]—The 'school' of Isocrates is mentioned in *de Comp.* c. 19, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἥ γε Ἰσοκράτους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῳ γνωρίμων αἵρεσις ὁμοία ταύταις ἦν.

[2] *De Lysia* c. 6, 14; *de Isocrate* c. 3; *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 3; *de Comp.* c. 16.

[3] The last-mentioned passage contains the curious phrase (reminiscent perhaps of Herodotus and Plato) ῥητόρων παῖδες: κῶλα δέ με δέξαι νυνὶ λέγειν, οὐχ οἷς Ἀριστοφάνης ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τις μετρικῶν διεκόσμησε τὰς ᾠδάς, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ φύσις ἀξιοῖ διαιρεῖν τὸν λόγον, καὶ ῥητόρων παῖδες τὰς περιόδους διαιροῦσι, *de Comp.* c. 22.

than in those of modern days (*οἱ νέοι τεχνογράφοι, de Isaeo* c. 14 fin.). Of originality he shows as much as it is usually given to scholars to show. His judgment was entirely independent, and its value is even more decisively displayed on the literary or aesthetic than on the strictly technical side.

VI. General Estimate of Dionysius as a Literary Critic. His Aims and his Achievements.

Beyond and above the question of the relation of Dionysius to his Greek predecessors in the sphere of rhetoric and literary criticism is that of his attitude towards Greek literature generally. His true distinction as a critic is his purity of taste. When the temptation to follow later and more pretentious writers must have been great, he reverts to the real classics of Greece. He is eager to restore the great authors to their rightful supremacy; he labours to discriminate between their genuine and their spurious works. Practical in his aims, he desires to determine the highest standard reached by Attic prose, and to mould thereby his own writing, that of his fellow-Greeks, and (indirectly) that of his Roman pupils also.

His own graphic description of the vicissitudes of taste which ended in the Attic Revival of his own day may be read in the Proem of his *Ancient Orators*:—

"Great is the gratitude due to our own age, most excellent Ammaeus, not only on account of the recent improvement in other pursuits, but above all because of the great advance made in the study of Civil Oratory. In the times before our own the ancient and philosophic rhetoric was flouted, grossly outraged, and brought lower and lower. Its decline and gradual decay began with the death of Alexander of Macedon, and in our own generation it reached the verge of final extinction. Another rhetoric stole into its place,—one intolerably ostentatious, shameless and dissolute, and without part in philosophy or any other liberal discipline. Craftily it deluded the ignorant multitude. Not only did it live in greater affluence and luxury and style than its predecessor, but it attached to itself those offices and those foremost public positions, which should have been held by the philosophic rhetoric. Very

vulgar it was and offensive, and in the end it reduced Hellas to the same plight as the households of miserable prodigals. For just as in their houses the wedded wife, free-born and virtuous, sits with no authority over what is hers, while a riotous mistress, by her presence spreading confusion in the home, claims rule over all the property, spurning and intimidating the wife: so in every city and not least (which was the worst calamity of all) in the recognised centres of culture, the Attic Muse, ancient and sprung from the soil though she was, had been robbed of her dignities and covered with dishonour, whereas her rival, who had come but yesterday from one of the dens of Asia, a Mysian or Phrygian wanton or some Carian abomination, presumed to govern Greek states, driving the true queen from the public council-chambers,—the ignorant ousting the philosophic, the wild the chaste[1]."

After thus vividly depicting the fortunes of the more meretricious qualities of style, Dionysius next proceeds to congratulate his age and the united forces of the 'philosophers' (*ἐπαινεῖν τὸν παρόντα χρόνον καὶ τοὺς συμφιλοσοφοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἄξιον*, c. 2 *ibid.*) on the magnitude of the revolution so successfully effected, and to note (c. 3: cp. p. 34 supra) the

[1] *De Antiq. Orat.* c. 1, *πολλὴν χάριν ἦν εἰδέναι τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνῳ δίκαιον, ὦ κράτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, καὶ ἄλλων μέν τινων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἕνεκα νῦν κάλλιον ἀσκουμένων ἢ πρότερον, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἐπιμελείας οὐ μικρὰν ἐπίδοσιν πεποιημένης ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω. ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν χρόνοις ἡ μὲν ἀρχαία καὶ φιλόσοφος ῥητορικὴ προπηλακιζομένη καὶ δεινὰς ὕβρεις ὑπομένουσα κατελύετο, ἀρξαμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος τελευτῆς ἐκπνεῖν καὶ μαραίνεσθαι κατ' ὀλίγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἡλικίας μικροῦ δεήσασα εἰς τέλος ἡφανίσθαι· ἑτέρα δέ τις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνης παρελθοῦσα τάξιν, ἀφόρητος ἀναιδείᾳ θεατρικῇ καὶ ἀνάγωγος καὶ οὔτε φιλοσοφίας οὔτε ἄλλου παιδεύματος οὐδενὸς μετειληφυῖα ἐλευθερίου, λαθοῦσα καὶ παρακρουσαμένη τὴν τῶν ὄχλων ἄγνοιαν, οὐ μόνον ἐν εὐπορίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ καὶ μορφῇ πλείονι τῆς ἑτέρας διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς προστασίας τῶν πόλεων, ἃς ἔδει τὴν φιλόσοφον ἔχειν, εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀνηρτήσατο καὶ ἦν φορτική τις πάνυ καὶ ὀχληρὰ καὶ τελευτῶσα παραπλησίαν ἐποίησε γενέσθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῖς τῶν ἀσώτων καὶ κακοδαιμόνων οἰκίαις. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείναις ἡ μὲν ἐλευθέρα καὶ σώφρων γαμετὴ κάθηται μηδενὸς οὖσα τῶν αὐτῆς κυρία, ἑταίρα δέ τις ἄφρων ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ βίου παροῦσα πάσης ἀξιοῖ τῆς οὐσίας ἄρχειν, σκυβαλίζουσα καὶ δεδιττομένη τὴν ἑτέραν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐν πάσῃ πόλει καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς ἧττον ἐν ταῖς εὐπαιδεύτοις (τοῦτο γὰρ ἁπάντων τῶν κακῶν ἔσχατον) ἡ μὲν Ἀττικὴ μοῦσα καὶ ἀρχαία καὶ αὐτόχθων ἄτιμον εἰλήφει σχῆμα, τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἐκπεσοῦσα ἀγαθῶν, ἡ δὲ ἔκ τινων βαράθρων τῆς Ἀσίας ἐχθὲς καὶ πρῴην ἀφικομένη, Μυσὴ ἢ Φρυγία τις ἢ Καρικόν τι κακόν, Ἑλληνίδας ἠξίου διοικεῖν πόλεις ἀπελάσασα τῶν κοινῶν τὴν ἑτέραν, ἡ ἀμαθὴς τὴν φιλόσοφον καὶ ἡ μαινομένη τὴν σώφρονα.*

part borne in it by the leading men of Rome. The protracted struggle which he has in mind is that between **Asianism** and **Atticism**, or the cult of the florid writers (conveniently but not exhaustively grouped as 'Asiatic') of the period between Demosthenes and Cicero, as contrasted with the counter-movement which sought its models in the Attic writers of the best days of Greece. Especially notable is the term *φιλόσοφος* which Dionysius, in this and other passages, applies to the Atticist rhetoric as distinguished from the Asiatic. By *φιλόσοφος* he means 'theoretic' (or 'technical' in the best sense), 'artistic,' 'scientific'; the antithesis of all that is merely 'empirical,' merely the result of practice.

The style of a leader of the Asiatic school, **Hegesias** of Magnesia, and some criticisms passed upon it by Dionysius, have already been noticed in the account given above (p. 12) of one of the early chapters of the *De Compositione*. Later (c. 18) in that treatise Dionysius enlarges on the sins of Hegesias in the matter of rhythm. "Upon my soul, I cannot decide whether he was so dense and stupid that he could not see which are the noble and ignoble rhythms, or (as I am rather inclined to think) so infatuated and fatally misguided that he chose the worse although he knew the better. Ignorance may frequently hit the mark: it is wilfulness that invariably misses it. Among all the works left by the man it would be impossible to find a single page successfully composed[1]." In proof he quotes a historical passage from Hegesias, and compares it with an excerpt from Homer (*Iliad* xxii. 395—411) full of nobly rhythmical lines.

It is by comparisons such as this, in which Homer is pitted against the arch-offender Hegesias, that Dionysius endeavours to raise the standard of literary taste in his own time. He appeals to the example of the truly classical

[1] *De Comp.* c. 18, *ὑπὲρ οὗ, μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἅπαντας, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι χρὴ λέγειν, πότερον τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἀναισθησία καὶ παχύτης, ὥστε μὴ συνορᾶν, οἵτινές εἰσιν εὐγενεῖς ἢ ἀγενεῖς ῥυθμοί, ἢ τοσαύτη θεοβλάβεια καὶ διαφθορὰ τῶν φρενῶν, ὥστε εἰδότα τοὺς κρείττους ἔπειτα αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς χείρονας· ὃ καὶ μᾶλλον πείθομαι· ἀγνοίας μὲν γάρ ἐστι καὶ τὸ κατορθοῦν πολλαχοῦ· προνοίας δέ, τὸ μηδέποτε. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς τοσαύταις γραφαῖς, ἃς καταλέλοιπεν ὁ ἀνήρ, μίαν οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τις σελίδα συγκειμένην εὐτυχῶς.*

writers,—not only of the Attic but of a still earlier period, not only prose-writers but poets. To him posterity thus owes, among other boons, the preservation (in *de Comp.* cc. 23, 26) of Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite* and of Simonides' *Danae*[1]. His apt choice of illustrations, and his skill in comparing those drawn from one author with those drawn from another, are admirably shown when he is dealing with the prose-writers of Greece, and especially with his own favourite orators. His critical writings form a golden treasury of extracts from the best writers of Greece.

Dionysius more than once reminds us of the often-forgotten truth that the excellence of the ancient authors was the result of ingenious and elaborate art. He will not exempt from this rule even Homer himself, who seems so spontaneous in his utterance. Homer is, in his view, a sedulous artist (cp. the verbs φιλοτεχνεῖν and καινουργεῖν as applied to Homer in *de Comp.* cc. 15, 20). In the same way he mentions (c. 25 *ibid.*: cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 25) the stories current in antiquity concerning the infinite pains bestowed by Isocrates upon his *Panegyric* and by Plato upon the opening of his *Republic*. Admitting that the labour is severe, he maintains that the joys of literary success are a sufficient compensation, and he condemns unsparingly the dictum of Epicurus that 'writing entails no trouble' (*de Comp.* c. 24 fin.). At the conclusion of his own treatise he reminds his young pupil that the precepts of literary manuals cannot, of themselves, make powerful debaters of those who are minded to dispense with study and practice[2].

At the same time Dionysius knows, as well as anyone,

[1] Cp. pp. 18, 19 supra.

[2] *De Comp.* c. 26 fin. Dionysius is, it will be seen, perfectly sensible of the limits of the teacher's power. Here he refers to the necessity of work on the learner's part. Earlier (c. 12 *ibid.*) he has some highly interesting remarks on the incommunicability of tact (the sense of καιρός),—remarks which show how fully alive he was to the existence in style of an element which eludes analysis. "No one," he says, "whether rhetorician or philosopher, has, up to the present hour, mapped out a manual of tact" (καιροῦ δὲ οὔτε ῥήτωρ οὐδεὶς οὔτε φιλόσοφος εἰς τόδε χρόνου τέχνην ὥρισεν, c. 12).

that the best art is that which best conceals itself. A studied simplicity is the ideal he upholds. Of Plato he says, "he is a long way superior when he employs language which is plain and correct, language which seems to be natural but is really elaborated with unoffending and unpretentious skill" (*ad Pomp.* c. 2). Lucidity of expression he pronounces to be the foremost excellence of style[1]. When discussing the obscurities of language found in the History of Thucydides and especially in his Speeches, he remarks that "only a select few can comprehend the whole of Thucydides, and not even they without occasional help in the way of grammatical explanations[2]." He adds his opinion that the language of Thucydides was unique even in his own day, and combats the view that a historian (as distinguished, say, from an advocate) may plead in excuse for an artificial style that he does not write for "people in the market-place, in workshops or in factories, nor for others who have not shared in a liberal education, but for men who have reached rhetoric and philosophy after passing through a full curriculum of scientific studies, to whom therefore none of these expressions will appear unfamiliar[3]." Obscurity and eccentricity, he says in effect, are not virtues except in the eyes of literary coteries; presumably a speaker speaks, and a writer writes, in order to be understood.

It is interesting to observe that what Dionysius prescribed to others he did not fail to practise himself. As for his own style of writing it may suffice to remark that, whatever else may be thought about it, it is at least eminently lucid and unaffected. It is equally evident that, in his own domain of literary criticism, he was a hard and assiduous worker. His range was wide, and his knowledge of the countless 'lines'

[1] *De Isocr.* c. 11, πρώτην μὲν τοίνυν ἔφην ἀρετὴν εἶναι λόγων τὴν καθαρὰν ἑρμηνείαν.

[2] *De Thucyd.* c. 51, εὐαρίθμητοι γάρ τινές εἰσιν οἷοι πάντα τὰ Θουκυδίδου συμβαλεῖν, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι χωρὶς ἐξηγήσεως γραμματικῆς ἔνια.

[3] *ibid.* c. 50, οὐ γὰρ ἀγοραίοις ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἐπιδιφρίοις ἢ χειροτέχναις οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἱ μὴ μετέσχον ἀγωγῆς ἐλευθερίου ταύτας κατασκευάζεσθαι τὰς γραφάς, ἀλλ' ἀνδράσι διὰ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων μαθημάτων ἐπὶ ῥητορικήν τε <καὶ> φιλοσοφίαν ἐληλυθόσιν, οἷς οὐδὲν φανήσεται τούτων ξένον.

(*στίχοι*) he mentions from time to time seems to have been minute and accurate. He united most effectively philological with rhetorical studies. He was at once a scholar and a critic. Thoroughness was his watchword. In his view, rhetoric ought not to be practised by arm-chair professors[1]. He is no frivolous dabbler or dilettante (such as the many who have made literary criticism a byword for superficiality), but he believes in serious, prolonged, and fortifying literary and literary-historical studies. He furnishes us with one of the earliest and the best examples of the systematic exercise of the art of literary criticism.

We cease to wonder at his success as a literary critic when we consider the temper in which he approached his task. Not only was he a lover alike of work and of simplicity, but he possessed other excellent critical attributes. Let him, yet once again, speak for himself. Criticism, he says, must be outspoken but not censorious. He protests that throughout his life he had been on his guard against a contentious and quarrelsome and promiscuously snarling attitude[2]. But he claims full critical liberty, and exposes a popular fallacy which is as hollow as it is offensive. "If we are inferior in ability to Thucydides and other writers, we do not therefore forfeit the right to form an estimate of them[3]." In the same spirit he declares (*ad Pomp.* c. 1) that though it would be an act of impiety to attack Plato after the manner of a Zoilus, it is none the less the duty of the critic (as opposed to the panegyrist) to examine into the truth with the utmost exactitude, and to pass over none of an author's good or bad qualities. For such an inquiry the method of comparison, invidious though it may seem, is essential (*ibid.*).

[1] *De Dinarcho* c. 1, *τοῖς μὴ ἐκ περιζώματος* ('wearing the apron, or mere outward sign') *ἀσκοῦσι τὴν ῥητορικήν.*

[2] *De Thucyd.* c. 2, *τὸ φιλόνεικον τοῦτο καὶ δύσερι καὶ προσυλακτοῦν εἰκῇ πᾶσιν ἐν παντὶ πεφυλαγμένος τῷ βίῳ μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος.*

[3] *ibid.* c. 4, *ἔν ἔτι λείπεταί μοι μέρος ἀπολογίας δεόμενον, ἐπίφθονον μέν τι κατηγόρημα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς κεχαρισμένον, ῥᾳδίως δ' ἐξελεγχθῆναι δυνησόμενον, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ὑγιές. οὐ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δυνάμει λειπόμεθα Θουκυδίδου τε καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέκαμεν.* This contention is supported by the analogy of the fine arts.

Dionysius may not always have succeeded in attaining the high ideals which he thus fearlessly set before him. His immediately practical aim has sometimes led him to circumscribe his activities, and to dwell, at perhaps disproportionate length, on matters of style and purely verbal criticism. But for the modern world even these limitations have not been altogether a disadvantage. He has helped where help was most needed. He has brought to bear upon the discussion of delicate questions of literary appreciation the trained instinct of a critic for whom Greek was still a spoken tongue, and whose ears still rang with the music of the language as it once was heard upon the lips of the great Athenian Orators.

Note on MSS. of the Three Literary Letters.

Of the first two Literary Letters only inferior manuscripts (none of them earlier than the fifteenth century) survive. The text of the *Second Letter to Ammaeus* depends on the excellent Codex Parisinus 1741 (preserved in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*), the readings of which are here reported after a fresh collation made last summer by the editor. The other manuscripts of the *Second Letter* are derived from this, but their readings deserve some consideration if only as helping to indicate the extent to which conjectural emendation is required in the *First Letter* and in the *Letter to Pompeius*. Some remarks on the general question of the textual criticism of the *Scripta Rhetorica* of Dionysius will be found in a notice (*Classical Review*, XIV. pp. 452—455) of the admirable edition by Usener and Radermacher, of which the first volume was published in 1899.

Siglorum in Notulis Criticis Adhibitorum Index.

Ep. ad Amm. I.

M	= cod. Ambrosianus	saec. xv.
B	= cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. 1742	saec. xv.
O	= cod. Ottobonianus	saec. xvi.
Pal	= cod. Palatinus	saec. xv.
s	= editio princeps Henrici Stephani.	
r	= exemplum Reiskianum.	
Us	= exemplum ab Usenero et Radermachero nuper editum.	
A	= Aristotelis lectio.	

Ep. ad Pomp.

M = cod. Ambrosianus saec. xv.
Pal = cod. Palatinus saec. xv.
B = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. 1742 saec. xv.
s = editio princeps Henrici Stephani.
Us = exemplum ab Usenero annis abhinc duodecim editum.
Δ = Dionys. Halic. *de adm. vi dic. in Demosth.* cc. 5—7.

Ep. ad Amm. II.

P = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. 1741 saec. x. vel xi.
G = cod. Guelferbytanus xiv saec. xvi.
C = cod. Laurentianus LX 18 saec. xv.
D = cod. Paris. supplem. 256 saec. xiv.
a = Aldi Manutii editio rhetorum.
s = editio Roberti Stephani.
Us = exemplum ab Usenero et Radermachero nuper editum.
Δ = Dionys. Halic. *de Thucyd.* c. 24 et alibi.
Θ = Thucydidis lectio.

DIONYSII HALICARNASSENSIS

EPISTULA AD AMMAEUM I

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΩΙ 719R

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

I

Πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων ξένων τε καὶ παραδόξων ἀκουσμάτων, ὧν ἐνήνοχεν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος, ἔν τι καὶ τοῦτο ἐφάνη μοι πρώτως ἀκούσαντι παρὰ σοῦ, ὅτι τῶν φιλοσόφων τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιπάτου πάντα χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ κτίσαντι ταύτην τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τοῦτο ὑπέσχετο ποιήσειν φανερόν, ὅτι Δημοσθένης τὰς ῥητορικὰς τέχνας παρ' ἐκείνου μαθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους 720
μετήνεγκε λόγους καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνα κοσμούμενος τὰ παραγγέλματα πάντων ἐγένετο τῶν ῥητόρων κράτιστος. κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον τῶν πολλῶν τινα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτ' ἐπιχειρήσαντα λέγειν, καὶ παρῄνουν σοι μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς παραδόξοις προσέχειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπυθόμην, ὃν ἐγὼ καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν λόγων ἀποδέχομαι, ἐθαύμασα, καὶ πολὺς ἐν ἐμαυτῷ γενόμενος ἐπιμελεστέρας ᾠμην δεῖσθαι σκέψεως τὸ πρᾶγμα, μή ποτε λέληθέ με τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχον καὶ οὐδὲν εἰκῇ τῷ ἀνδρὶ εἴρηται, ἵνα | ἢ τὴν δόξαν ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς 721
ἔσχον <ἀφείην> βεβαίως μαθὼν ὅτι προτεροῦσι τῶν

1, 2 om. O. 4 ἔν τι libri: corr. a. 8 τοῦτοτό Pal. 10 κατ' a: μετ' libri | τὰ om. O. 16 λόγων] Kiesslingius, λοιπῶν libri. 18 με om. Pal. 20 ἀφείην βεβαίως] Us, βεβαιωθῶ MOs βεβαιωτῶ B Pal βεβαίωσι μεταθοίμην Weilius | μαθὼν B Pal.

DIONYSIUS TO HIS FRIEND AMMAEUS

WITH CORDIAL GREETINGS.

I

Our age has produced many strange paradoxes; and among them I was inclined to class the following proposition when I first heard it from yourself. You said that a certain Peripatetic philosopher, in his desire to do all homage to Aristotle the founder of his school, undertook to demonstrate that it was from him that Demosthenes learnt the rules of rhetoric which he applied in his own speeches, and that it was through conformity to the Aristotelian precepts that he became the foremost of all orators. Now my first impression was that this bold disputant was a person of no consequence, and I advised you not to pay heed to every chance paradox. But when on hearing his name I found him to be a man whom I respect on account of his high personal qualities and his literary merits, I did not know what to think; and after careful reflection I felt that the matter needed a more attentive inquiry. It was possible that I had failed to discern the truth and that he had not spoken at random. I wished, therefore, either to relinquish

Δημοσθένους λόγων αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους τέχναι, ἢ τὸν οὕτως ἐγνωκότα καὶ γράψαι γε παρεσκευασμένον, πρὶν εἰς ὄχλον ἐκδοῦναι τὸ σύνταγμα, μεταβαλεῖν πείσαιμι τὴν δόξαν.

II.

Οὐκ ἐλαχίστην δέ μοι καὶ σὺ παρέσχου ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ παρέργως ἐξετάσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, παρακαλῶν φανεροὺς ποιῆσαι τοὺς λόγους, οἷς ἐμαυτὸν πέπεικα Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰρηκότος ἀγῶνας τότε ὑπὸ Ἀριστοτέλους τὰς ῥητορικὰς γεγράφθαι τέχνας. ἐδόκεις τέ μοι καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς παραινεῖν, μὴ 722
σημείοις μηδὲ εἰκόσι μηδ' ἀλλοτρίαις τὸ πρᾶγμα πιστώσασθαι μαρτυρίαις, ἐπειδὴ τούτων οὐδεμία τῶν πίστεων δι' ἀναγκαίων συνάγεται λημμάτων· ἀλλ' αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλη παρασχέσθαι διὰ τῶν ἰδίων τεχνῶν ὁμολογοῦντα τἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχειν. τοῦτο δὴ πεποίηκα, βέλτιστε Ἀμμαῖε, τῆς τε ἀληθείας προνοούμενος, ἣν ἐπὶ παντὸς οἶομαι δεῖν πράγματος ἐξετάζεσθαι, καὶ τῆς ἁπάντων τῶν περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἐσπουδακότων χάριτος· ἵνα μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολάβωσιν, ὅτι πάντα περιείληφεν ἡ περιπατητικὴ φιλοσοφία τὰ ῥητορικὰ παραγγέλματα, καὶ οὔτε οἱ περὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Θρασύμαχον καὶ Ἀντιφῶντα σπουδῆς ἄξιον οὐδὲν εὗρον οὔτε Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Ἀλκιδάμας οὔτε οἱ τούτοις συμβιώσαντες τοῖς ἀνδράσι παραγγελμάτων τεχνικῶν συγγραφεῖς καὶ ἀγωνισταὶ λόγων ῥητορικῶν, οἱ περὶ Θεοδέκτην καὶ Φιλίσκον καὶ Ἰσαῖον καὶ Κηφισόδωρον | Ὑπερίδην τε καὶ Λυκοῦργον καὶ Αἰσχίνην, οὐδ' <ἂν> αὐτὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης ὁ πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τούς τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ μηδὲ τοῖς γινομένοις ὑπερβολὴν καταλιπὼν 723

2 γε s: τε libri. 14 τάληθῆ O. 24 Φιλίσκον] Sylburgius, φίλιστον MO Pal s. 26 οὐδ' ἂν] Us, οὔτε libri. 27 ὑπερβαλλόμενος Pal | αὐτοῦ MB.

my previous opinion if convinced that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle preceded the speeches of Demosthenes, or to induce the person who has adopted this view, and is prepared to put it in writing, to change it before giving his treatise to the world.

II

You have yourself furnished me with a powerful motive for a thorough investigation of the truth. For you have invited me to state the arguments by which I have convinced myself that it was not till Demosthenes had reached his prime, and had delivered his most celebrated speeches, that Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric*. And you seemed to me, further, to be right in counselling me not to rest my case on mere indications or probabilities or pieces of extraneous evidence, since no such proof is absolutely conclusive, but rather to bring forward Aristotle himself as witnessing by means of his own treatise to the truth of my view. This I have done, my dear Ammaeus, out of regard not only for the truth, which I think ought to be fully sifted in every issue, but for the satisfaction of all who are interested in civil oratory. I would not have them think that all the precepts of rhetoric are included in the Peripatetic philosophy, and that nothing important has been devised by men such as Theodorus and Thrasymachus and Antiphon, nor by Isocrates and Anaximenes and Alcidamas, nor by their contemporaries who composed rhetorical handbooks and engaged in oratorical contests—such men as Theodectes and Philiscus and Isaeus and Cephisodorus, together with Hyperides and Lycurgus and Aeschines. Nor would I have it thought that Demosthenes himself, who surpassed all his predecessors and contemporaries and defies

τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἰσοκράτους τε καὶ Ἰσαίου κοσμούμενος παραγγέλμασιν, εἰ μὴ τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους τέχνας ἐξέμαθεν.

III

Οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος', ὦ φίλε Ἀμμαῖε, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν τῶν ὕστερον ἐξενεχθεισῶν οἱ Δημοσθένους λόγοι συνετάχθησαν ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑτέρας τινὰς εἰσαγωγάς· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐν ἰδίᾳ δηλώσω γραφῇ τὰ δοκοῦντά μοι· πολὺς γὰρ ὁ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὃν οὐ καλῶς εἶχεν ἑτέρας γραφῆς ποιῆσαι πάρεργον. ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι τοῦτο πειράσομαι φανερὸν ποιῆσαι, ὅτι Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους εἰρηκότος ἀγῶνας τούς τε δικανικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δημηγορικοὺς καὶ θαυμαζομένου διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ δεινότητι λόγων τότε ὁ φιλόσοφος τὰς ῥητορικὰς ἔγραψε τέχνας. ἀνάγκη δ' ἴσως πρῶτον, ὅσα | παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἃς κατέλιπον ἡμῖν 724
οἱ τοὺς βίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνταξάμενοι, προειπεῖν. ποιήσομαι δὲ ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους τὴν ἀρχήν.

IV

Οὗτος ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον τῆς ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος· ἄρχοντος δὲ Τιμοκράτους εἰς ἔτος ἦν ἐμβεβηκὼς ἑπτακαιδέκατον * * δημοσίους δὲ λόγους ἤρξατο γράφειν ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων. καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κατασκευασθέντων ἀγώνων ὁ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος, ὃν ἔγραφε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι τὸ ψήφισμα παρανόμων, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἕτερος [ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου

12 τούτε B. 13 θαυμαζομένους B. 16 ἃς MB Pal s: om. O. 21 lacunam indicavit Weilius | δὲ Herwerdenus: τε libri. 26 ἐπὶ Καλλιστράτου ἄρχοντος] uncis sepsit Herwerdenus tanquam emblema manifestum.

the rivalry of the ages, would not have risen so high if he had only obeyed the precepts of Isocrates and Isaeus and had not mastered the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

III

'That story is not true[1],' my dear Ammaeus, nor did the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, which was issued at a later date, govern the composition of the speeches of Demosthenes. These were indebted to other teachers, concerning whom I will state my views in a separate work, since the subject needs full discussion and could not well be treated by the way. Meanwhile I will endeavour to show that, at the time when Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric*, Demosthenes was already at the height of his public career and had delivered his most celebrated speeches, forensic and deliberative, and was famous throughout Greece for his eloquence. And perhaps I ought first of all to mention the facts I have taken from the current histories, which the compilers of biographies have bequeathed to us. I will begin with Demosthenes.

IV

Demosthenes was born in the year preceding the hundredth Olympiad. In the archonship of Timocrates he had entered upon his seventeenth year....He commenced to write public speeches in the archonship of Callistratus, when twenty-five years of age. The first of his forensic speeches is that *against Androtion*, written for Diodorus, who was arraigning the proposal of Androtion as unconstitutional. Another belonging to the same period—that of the archonship of Callistratus—is

[1] Stesichorus, Fragm. 26 Bergk.

ἄρχοντος], ὁ περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, ὃν αὐτὸς διέθετο, χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος. ἐπὶ δὲ Διοτίμου τοῦ μετὰ Καλλίστρατον ἐν Ἀθηναίοις πρώτην εἶπε δημηγορίαν, ἣν ἐπιγράφουσιν οἱ | τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς 725
πίνακας συντάξαντες 'περὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν'· ἐν ᾗ παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ λύειν τὴν πρὸς βασιλέα γενομένην εἰρήνην μηδὲ προτέρους ἄρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, ἐὰν μὴ παρασκευάσωνται τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐν ᾗ πλείστην εἶχον ἰσχύν, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτὸς ὑποτίθεται. ἐπὶ δὲ Θουδήμου τοῦ μετὰ Διότιμον ἄρξαντος τόν τε κατὰ Τιμοκράτους λόγον ἔγραψε Διοδώρῳ τῷ κρίνοντι παρανόμων τὸν Τιμοκράτη καὶ τὸν περὶ τῆς Μεγαλοπολιτῶν βοηθείας δημηγορικὸν αὐτὸς ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ δὲ Θούδημον ἔστιν Ἀριστόδημος ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἤρξατο, καὶ λόγον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ διέθετο περὶ τῆς ἀποστολῆς τοῦ ξενικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ τῶν δέκα φυγαδικῶν τριηρῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τὸν κατὰ Ἀριστοκράτους ἔγραψε λόγον Εὐθυκλεῖ τῷ διώ|κοντι παρανόμων τὸ ψήφισμα. 726
ἐπὶ δὲ Θεέλλου τοῦ μετὰ Ἀριστόδημον τὴν περὶ Ῥοδίων ἀπήγγειλε δημηγορίαν, ἐν ᾗ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καταλῦσαι τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐλευθερῶσαι. ἐπὶ δὲ Καλλιμάχου τοῦ τρίτου μετὰ Θέελλον ἄρξαντος τρεῖς διέθετο δημηγορίας παρακαλῶν Ἀθηναίους βοήθειαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἀποστεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, πρώτην μὲν ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχὴ ''Επὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἰδεῖν ἄν τις ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοί μοι δοκεῖ'· δευτέραν δὲ 'Οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι'· τρίτην

10 *θουμήδου* O Θεοδήμου s Εὐδήμου Sylburgio auctore r. 13 *δημηγορικὸν*] Weilius, *δημηγορικὸν δν* libri. 14 *θουκυδίδημον* O Θεόδημον s Εὔδημον r.
17 *φυγαδικῶν* MBO *γαδικῶν* Pal s: *ταχικῶν* Boehneckius *γαδικῶν* uncis inclusit Reiskius e vocabulo medii aevi *γαλειῶν* (i. q. *τριηρῶν*) natum ratus.
20 *Θεσσάλου* et 23 *Θέσσαλον* Sylburgio auctore r. 24 *δημηγορίας*] Herwerdenus, *δημηγορικοὺς* libri: cp. *πρώτην* 26, *δευτέραν* 27, *τρίτην* 28.

the speech on the *Exemptions*. This he delivered himself; it is the most graceful and the best written of all his speeches. Under Diotimus, who succeeded Callistratus, he pronounced before the Athenians his first parliamentary oration, that entitled *On the Navy Boards* in the bibliographical lists of the orators. In this speech he urged the Athenians not to break the peace concluded with the Persian King nor be the first to make war, unless they should have organised their navy, in which their chief strength lay. He himself suggests a method of organisation. Under Thudemus, who succeeded Diotimus as archon, he wrote the speech *Against Timocrates* for the use of Diodorus, who was prosecuting Timocrates as the proposer of an unconstitutional measure. The oration *On the Relief of the Megalopolitans* he delivered himself in the assembly. Thudemus was succeeded by Aristodemus, in whose archonship Demosthenes began his orations against Philip, and delivered a speech before the people on the dispatch of the mercenary force and of the flying squadron of ten galleys to Macedonia[1]. At this time he also wrote his speech *Against Aristocrates* for Euthycles, who was arraigning an unconstitutional proposal. Under Theellus, who came next after Aristodemus, he delivered his oration *On the Rhodians*, in which he sought to persuade the Athenians to abolish the Rhodian oligarchy and enfranchise the commons. Under Callimachus, the second archon in succession to Theellus, he delivered three orations, urging the Athenians to send reinforcements to the Olynthians, against whom war was being waged by Philip. The first begins, 'In many instances, men of Athens, one may see[2]'; the second, 'Not the same thoughts present themselves to my mind, men of Athens[3]'; the third,

[1] Demosth. *Philipp.* I. 22. [2] Demosth. *Olynth.* II. 1.
[3] Demosth. *Olynth.* III. 1.

δὲ 'Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἂν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων.' κατὰ τοῦτον γέγραπται τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ ὁ κατὰ Μειδίου λόγος, ὃν συνετάξατο μετὰ | τὴν χειροτονίαν ἣν ὁ δῆμος αὐτοῦ 727
κατεχειροτόνησε.

Μέχρι τοῦ περὶ δώδεκα λόγων εἴρηκα δημοσίων, ἐν οἷς εἰσι δημηγορικοὶ μὲν ἑπτά, δικανικοὶ δὲ πέντε, ἅπαντες <ὄντες> πρότεροι τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν, ὡς ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδείξω καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφέντων, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρξάμενος.

V

Ἀριστοτέλης υἱὸς μὲν ἦν Νικομάχου τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀναφέροντος εἰς Μαχάονα τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Φαιστίδος ἀπογόνου τινὸς τῶν ἐκ Χαλκίδος τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀγαγόντων εἰς Στάγειρα· ἐγεννήθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐνενηκοστὴν καὶ ἐνάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα Διοτρεφοῦς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντος τρισὶν ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους | πρεσβύτερος. ἐπὶ δὲ Πολυ- 728
ζήλου ἄρχοντος τελευτήσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς ὀκτωκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἦλθεν, καὶ συσταθεὶς Πλάτωνι χρόνον εἰκοσαετῆ διέτριψε σὺν αὐτῷ. ἀποθανόντος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπὶ Θεοφίλου ἄρχοντος ἀπῆρε πρὸς Ἑρμίαν τὸν Ἀταρνέως τύραννον καὶ τριετῆ χρόνον παρ' αὐτῷ διατρίψας ἐπ' Εὐβούλου ἄρχοντος εἰς Μυτιλήνην ἐχωρίσθη· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Φίλιππον ᾤχετο κατὰ Πυθόδοτον ἄρχοντα, καὶ διέτριψε χρόνον ὀκταετῆ παρ' αὐτῷ καθηγούμενος Ἀλεξάνδρου· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτὴν ἐπ' Εὐαινέτου ἄρχοντος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐσχόλαζεν ἐν Λυκείῳ χρόνον ἐτῶν δώδεκα. τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ, μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχοντος

5 λόγων ὧν e dittogr. libri. 7 ὄντες inseruit Weilius.
15 πρεσβύτερος] Wolfius, πρεσβυτέρου libri. 20 ἀταρνέως Pal ἀταρνέων B.
21 διατρίψας] Wolfius, τρίψας libri | Μυτιλήνην] Herwerdenus, μυτιλήνῃ libri.
22 ἔχετο Pal ἤρχετο s.

'You would, men of Athens, give a great price[1].' During this same archonship was written the speech *Against Meidias*, which Demosthenes composed after the vote of censure passed on Meidias by the people.

I have so far mentioned twelve public speeches, seven of the deliberative, five of the forensic order. All of these are earlier than the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, as I will prove both from what others relate concerning that author and from his own writings. I begin with his biography.

V

Aristotle was the son of Nicomachus, who traced his pedigree and his profession to Machaon, the son of Aesculapius. His mother, Phaestis, was descended from one of those who led the colony to Stageira from Chalcis. He was born in the ninety-ninth Olympiad, when Diotrephes was archon at Athens, and was, therefore, three years older than Demosthenes. In the archonship of Polyzelus, after his father's death, he went to Athens, being then eighteen years of age. Having been introduced to the society of Plato, he spent a period of twenty years with him. Upon Plato's death, in the archonship of Theophilus, he repaired to Hermias, despot of Atarneus, and after spending three years with him retired to Mytilene in the archonship of Eubulus. Thence he proceeded, during the archonship of Pythodotus, to the court of Philip, and spent eight years there as Alexander's tutor. After the death of Philip, in the archonship of Evaenetus, he returned to Athens, and taught in the Lyceum for a space of twelve years. In the thirteenth year, after the death of Alexander in the archonship of Cephisodorus, he betook

[1] Demosth. *Olynth.* I. 1.

ἀπάρας εἰς Χαλκίδα νόσῳ τελευτᾷ, τρία πρὸς τοῖς ἑξήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη.

VI

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἃ παραδεδώκασιν ἡμῖν οἱ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναγράψαντες. ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ φι|λόσοφος 729
ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γράφει πᾶσαν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐπιχείρησιν τῶν χαρίζεσθαι βουλομένων αὐτῷ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα (πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν οὐδὲν δέομαι μεμνῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἃ τέθηκεν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας)· ὡς οὐ μειράκιον ἦν, ὅτε τὰς ῥητορικὰς συνετάττετο τέχνας, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ γεγονὼς ἀκμῇ καὶ προεκδεδωκὼς ἤδη τάς τε τοπικὰς συντάξεις καὶ τὰς ἀναλυτικὰς καὶ τὰς μεθοδικάς, τεκμηρίων ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότατα. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ τὰς ὠφελείας ἐπιδεικνύειν, ἃς περιείληφεν ὁ ῥητορικὸς λόγος, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· 'χρήσιμος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορικὴ διά γε τὸ φύσει εἶναι κρείττω τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν ἐναντίων· ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον αἱ κρίσεις γίνωνται, ἀνάγκη δι' αὐτὸν ἡττᾶσθαι· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἄξιον ἐπιτιμήσεως. ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ἐνίους, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν ἀκρι|βεστάτην ἔχοιμεν ἐπιστή- 730
μην, ῥᾴδιον ἀπ' ἐκείνης πεῖσαι λέγοντας· διδασκαλία γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην λόγος, τοῦτο δὲ ἀδύνατον· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη διὰ τῶν κοινῶν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς λόγους, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοπικοῖς λέγομεν περὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐντεύξεως.'

VII

περὶ δὲ παραδειγμάτων <καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων> προελόμενος λέγειν, ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν ταὐτ' ἔχει δύναμιν ταῖς

12 *ἰσχυρότατα*] Weilius, *ἰσχυρότερα* libri. 15 *διά τε* A(ristoteles) *διὰ δὲ* O. 17 *μὴ* (Aristotelis) t(ranslatio vetus), Sylburgius: *μὲν* libri, om. A codex Parisinus, recte fortasse uncis inclusit Weilius. 18 *αὐτὸν* libri: *αὐτῶν* As. 20 *διδασκαλίας* A. 23 *τοῖς τοπικοῖς*] Sylburgius cl. A, *τοῖς πολιτικοῖς* libri. 25 *καὶ ἐνθυμημάτων* add. Spengelius.

himself to Chalcis, where he fell ill and died at the age of sixty-three.

VI

Such, then, are the records transmitted to us by the biographers of Aristotle. What the philosopher says of himself in his own writings completely cuts away the ground beneath the feet of those who wish to assign him honours to which he is not entitled. In addition to many other proofs, none of which I need recall at present, there is the passage he has written in the First Book of the treatise in question. Here we have the strongest evidence that he was no stripling when he composed the *Rhetoric*, but in the prime of life, having previously published his treatises the *Topics*, the *Analytics*, and the *Methodics*. At the commencement of the section in which he sets forth the advantages embraced in the art of rhetoric, he has the following words which are here quoted as they stand: 'Rhetoric is useful because truth and justice are, by nature, stronger than their opposites. If, therefore, judicial trials do not end as they should, a man's defeat must be due to himself; and this is deserving of censure. Moreover, in addressing some audiences, it is not easy, even when we possess the most exact and methodical knowledge, to carry conviction by means of it. For methodical statement is a kind of instruction; and instruction is here out of the question. But in our proofs and arguments we must make use of processes understood by all, as we remarked in the *Topics* when treating of the manner of addressing the multitude[1].'

VII

In the passage in which he sets himself to show that 'examples' and 'enthymemes' are equivalent to 'inductions'

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 1, 12.

ἐπαγωγαῖς καὶ τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς, ταῦτα περὶ τῆς ἀναλυτικῆς καὶ μεθοδικῆς πραγματείας τίθησι· 'τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ δείκνυσθαι <ἢ> φαίνεσθαι δείκνυσθαι, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστι, τὸ δὲ συλλογισμός, | <τὸ 731
5 δὲ φαινόμενος συλλογισμός>, καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ὁμοίως· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ μὲν παράδειγμα ἐπαγωγή, τὸ δ' ἐνθύμημα συλλογισμός, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον φαινόμενος συλλογισμός· καλῶ γὰρ ἐνθύμημα μὲν ῥητορικὸν συλλογισμόν, παράδειγμα δὲ ἐπαγωγὴν ῥητορικήν· πάντες δὲ τὰς πίστεις ποιοῦνται διὰ
10 τοῦ <δεικνύναι ἢ παραδείγματα λέγοντες ἢ ἐνθυμήματα, καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδέν· ὥστ' εἴπερ καὶ ὅλως ἀνάγκη συλλογιζόμενον ἢ ἐπάγοντα> δεικνύναι ὁτιοῦν, δῆλον δ' ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν, ἀναγκαῖον ἑκάτερον <αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ> τούτων τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τίς δ' ἐστὶ
15 διαφορὰ παραδείγματος καὶ ἐνθυμήματος, φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν τοπικῶν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ περὶ συλλογισμοῦ καὶ ἐπαγωγῆς εἴρηται πρότερον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὁμοίων δείκνυσθαι ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐπαγωγή ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ παράδειγμα· τὸ δὲ τινῶν ὄντων ἕτερόν | τι διὰ ταῦτα 732
20 συμβαίνειν παρὰ ταῦτα τῷ ταῦτα εἶναι ἢ καθόλου ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, ἐκεῖ μὲν συλλογισμός, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐνθύμημα καλεῖται. φανερὸν δὲ καὶ ὅτι ἑκάτερον ἔχει ἀγαθὸν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ῥητορείας· καθάπερ <γὰρ> καὶ ἐν τοῖς μεθοδικοῖς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τούτοις ὁμοίως ἔχει.' ὁ μὲν οὖν
25 Ἀριστοτέλης ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ γέγραφε μαρτυρόμενος διαρρήδην, ὅτι τὰς ῥητορικὰς τέχνας συνετάξατο πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἤδη καὶ τὰς κρατίστας συντάξεις προεκδεδωκώς.

2 *διὰ τοῦ* A s: *δι' αὐτοῦ* libri. 3 *δείκνυσθαι ἢ* s *δείκνυσθαι* Pal *δεικνύναι ἢ* A: om. MB | *φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι* A. 4 *διαλεκτικοῖς*] A, *ἀναλυτικοῖς* libri. 4, 5 *τὸ δὲ φ. σ.* om. libri: ex A supplevit Sylburgius. 7 *τὸ δὲ φαιν. φαιν. συλλ.* om. Aristotelis t et codex P | *γὰρ*] *δὲ* A. 9, 10 *διὰ τοῦ* A s: *διὰ τὸ* libri. 10 verba *δεικνύναι*.....*ἐπάγοντα* ex A supplevit s. 14 *αὐτῶν ἑκατέρῳ* ex A supplevit Sylburgius. 18 *εἰσαγωγή* libri: corr. s. 20 *συμβαίνειν* libri: corr. s | *ταῦτα τῷ ταῦτα*] A, *τὸ ταὐτ'* libri. 22 *δ' ὅτι καὶ* A. 23 *τῆς ῥητορικῆς* A | *γὰρ* ex A supplevit Sylburgius.

and 'syllogisms,' Aristotle has the following references to his *Analytics* and his *Methodics*. 'Of proofs obtained by real or apparent demonstration there are, in Dialectic, these varieties: induction, syllogism, and apparent syllogism. So also in Rhetoric, where example corresponds to induction, enthymeme to syllogism, and apparent enthymeme to apparent syllogism. By "enthymeme" I mean a rhetorical syllogism, and by "example" a rhetorical induction. Everyone relies for demonstrative proof in Rhetoric upon examples and enthymemes; upon these and these only. If, therefore, it is absolutely necessary that whatever is proved should be proved either by syllogism or by induction—and this is plain to us from the *Analytics*—it follows of necessity that enthymeme and example are respectively identical with syllogism and induction. The difference between example and enthymeme is clear from the *Topics*. In that work we have already said, when treating of syllogism and induction, that the proving of a rule in many similar instances is called an induction in Dialectic and an example in Rhetoric; while the conclusion that from certain premisses something different follows, because of these and owing to the fact that these are true either universally or as a general rule, is called a syllogism in Dialectic and an enthymeme in Rhetoric. It is evident that each form of rhetorical argument has its own strong points, the statement made in the *Methodics* holding good here also[1].' In writing thus Aristotle has given unequivocal evidence about himself to the effect that he composed the *Rhetoric* in his later years and after the publication of his most important

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* I. 2, 8—10.

ταῦτ' ἔστιν ἐξ ὧν, ὃ προειλόμην ποιῆσαι φανερόν, ὅτι προτεροῦσιν οἱ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀγῶνες τῶν τοῦ φιλοσόφου τεχνῶν, ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι νομίζω· εἴ γε ὁ μὲν εἰκοστὸν καὶ πέμπτον ἔτος ἔχων ἤρξατο πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δημηγορεῖν καὶ λόγους εἰς δικαστήρια γράφειν, ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἔτι | συνῆν Πλάτωνι καὶ διέτριψεν ἕως 733
ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα οὔτε σχολῆς ἡγούμενος οὔτε ἰδίαν πεποιηκὼς αἵρεσιν.

VIII

Εἰ δέ τις οὕτως ἔσται δύσερις ὥστε καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀντιλέγειν, ὅτι μὲν ὕστερον ἐγράφησαν αἱ ῥητορικαὶ τέχναι τῶν ἀναλυτικῶν τε καὶ μεθοδικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν, ὁμολογῶν ἀληθὲς εἶναι, οὐδὲν δὲ κωλύειν λέγων ἁπάσας ταύτας κατεσκευακέναι τὸν φιλόσοφον τὰς πραγματείας ἔτι παιδευόμενον παρὰ Πλάτωνι, ψυχρὰν μὲν καὶ ἀπίθανον ἐπιχείρησιν εἰσάγων, βιαζόμενος δὲ τὸ κακουργότατον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ποιεῖν πιθανώτερον, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἰκὸς γίνεσθαί ποτε εἰκός, ἀφεὶς ἃ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγειν εἶχον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτοῦ τρέψομαι τοῦ φιλοσόφου μαρτυρίας, ἃς ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τέθηκε περὶ τῆς μεταφορᾶς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφων· 'τῶν δὲ μεταφορῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν, εὐδοκιμοῦσι μάλιστα αἱ κατὰ ἀναλογίαν· ὡς Περικλῆς ἔφη τὴν νεότητα τὴν ἀπολομένην ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὕτως | ἠφανίσθαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ εἴ τις τὸ ἔαρ ἐκ 734
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐξέλοι . . . καὶ Κηφισόδοτος σπουδάζοντος Χάρητος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον

16 πιθανώτερον] Us, πιθανώτατον libri. 17 γίνεσθαι] Weilius, γίνεται libri. 19 τέθεικε libri. 21 ὡς] ὥσπερ A. 24 ἐξέλοι· καὶ libri: ἐξέλοι· καὶ Λεπτίνης περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐκ ἐᾶν περιδεῖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑτεροφθαλμον γενομένην· καὶ A, s. 25 χάριτος MBO om. Pal corr. s | τῶν MB: τοῦ Pal s, om. OA.

treatises. These are the proofs by which I think I have sufficiently demonstrated what I proposed to make clear, that the orator had practised the art of speaking before the philosopher had formulated the theory. In fact, Demosthenes began at the age of twenty-five to engage in public affairs, to address the assembly, and to write speeches for the law-courts. About the same period Aristotle was still a disciple of Plato, and he lived to be seven-and-thirty without any school to lead and without any body of personal adherents.

VIII

Possibly, however, some captious critic will raise an objection even in the face of these conclusions. He may admit that the *Rhetoric* was written later than the *Analytics* and *Methodics* and *Topics*, but maintain that Aristotle may very well have composed all these treatises while still a disciple in the school of Plato. Such a contention is absurdly improbable; it is a violent attempt to commend the wretched paradox that it is likely that the unlikely may at times occur. Omitting, therefore, what I could have said in reply, I turn to the pieces of evidence which Aristotle himself furnishes in the Third Book of the *Rhetoric*, where he has these words (here quoted word for word) on the subject of metaphor: 'Of the four kinds of metaphor, the proportional are the most in repute. It is thus that Pericles compared the loss of the youth of a state in war to taking the spring out of the year....So also, when Chares was eager to have his conduct in the Olynthian War submitted to a scrutiny, Cephisodotus impatiently exclaimed

ἠγανάκτει φάσκων αὐτὸν εἰς πνῖγμα τὸν δῆμον ἄγχοντα τὰς εὐθύνας πειρᾶσθαι διδόναι.'

IX

Οὑτωσὶ μὲν δὴ σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὁ φιλόσοφος ἀποδεικνύει μετὰ τὸν Ὀλυνθιακὸν πόλεμον γεγραμμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰς τέχνας. οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιμάχου γέγονεν ἄρχοντος, ὡς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν ἕκτῃ βύβλῳ τῆς Ἀτθίδος κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφων· 'Καλλίμαχος Περγασῆθεν· ἐπὶ τούτου Ὀλυνθίοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ πρέσβεις Ἀθήναζε πέμψασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι συμμαχίαν τε ἐποιήσαντο * * * καὶ βοήθειαν ἔπεμψαν πελταστὰς δισχιλίους, τριήρεις δὲ τριάκοντα τὰς | μετὰ Χάρητος καὶ 735
ἃς συνεπλήρωσαν ὀκτώ.' ἔπειτα διεξελθὼν ὀλίγα τὰ μεταξὺ γενόμενα τίθησι ταυτί· 'περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης θλιβομένων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πρεσβευσαμένων Ἀθήναζε Χαρίδημον αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ στρατηγόν· ὃς ἔχων ὀκτωκαίδεκα τριήρεις καὶ πελταστὰς τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἦλθεν εἰς τήν τε Παλλήνην καὶ τὴν Βοττιαίαν μετ' Ὀλυνθίων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησεν.' ἔπειθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τρίτης συμμαχίας λέγει ταυτί· 'πάλιν δὲ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πρέσβεις ἀποστειλάντων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ δεομένων μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς καταπολεμηθέντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις δυνάμεσι πέμψαι βοήθειαν μὴ ξενικὴν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπεμψεν αὐτοῖς ὁ δῆμος τριήρεις μὲν ἑτέρας ἑπτακαίδεκα

1 αὐτὸν MBO: om. Pal s A | ἄγχοντα] Abreschius, ἀγαγόντα libri, ἔχοντα A. 2 δοῦναι A. 3 Οὑτωσὶ] Reiskius, οὕτως εἰ libri. 5 οὗτος] s, οὕτως libri. 6 βίβλῳ libri. 10 in MO lacuna est xviii fere litterarum post ἐποιήσαντο. 11 χάριτος B Pal O 12 ὀκτώ MO: om. B Pal s. 13 αὐτὸν om. O. 14 θράκης B Pal. 17 τετρακισχιλίους MO. 18 εἰς τήν τε] Us, εἰς τὴν εἰς τὲ B¹ εἴς τε MB²OPs. 18, 19 παλλήνειν Pal. 19 ὀλυνθίνων B. 23 δυνάμενοι O.

that he wanted to secure such a scrutiny while he had the people by the throat[1].'

IX

Thus does the philosopher himself clearly prove that he wrote the *Rhetoric* after the Olynthian War. Now that war took place in the archonship of Callimachus, as Philochorus shows in the Sixth Book of his *Atthis*, where his words (exactly given) are: 'Callimachus of the deme Pergase. In his time the Olynthians, attacked by Philip, sent ambassadors to Athens. The Athenians made an alliance with them.....and sent to their aid two thousand targeteers, and thirty galleys under the command of Chares, as well as eight others which they put into commission for the occasion[2].' Next, after describing the few intervening events, he proceeds: 'About the same time the Chalcidians of the Thracian seaboard were harassed by the war and sent an embassy to Athens. The Athenians dispatched to their assistance Charidemus, who held command in the Hellespont. Charidemus brought with him eighteen galleys and four thousand targeteers and a hundred and fifty horsemen. Supported by the Olynthians, he advanced into Pallene and Bottiaea, and ravaged the country[3].' Later on he writes thus on the subject of the third alliance: 'The Olynthians sent a fresh embassy to the Athenians, begging them not to see them irretrievably ruined, but to send out, in addition to the troops already there, a force consisting not of mercenaries but of Athenian citizens. Thereupon the Athenian people sent them other seventeen

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 10, 7.
[2] Philochorus, *Fragm.* 132 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 405). [3] id. *ib.*

<καὶ> τῶν πολιτῶν ὁπλίτας δισχιλίους καὶ ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππηγοῖς, στρατηγὸν δὲ Χάρητα τοῦ στόλου παντός.'

X

Ἀπόχρη μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ῥηθέντα φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἀξιούντων τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐζηλωκέναι τέχνας τὸν Δημοσθένη, ὃς ἤδη τέτταρας μὲν 736
ἔτυχεν εἰρηκὼς δημηγορίας Φιλιππικάς, τρεῖς δὲ Ἑλληνικάς, πέντε δὲ λόγους δημοσίους εἰς δικαστήρια γεγραφώς, οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἔχοι διαβαλεῖν ὡς εὐτελεῖς τινας καὶ φαύλους καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιφαίνοντας τεχνικόν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους συνετάχθησαν τεχνῶν. οὐ μὴν ἔγωγε μέχρι τούτου προελθὼν στήσομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ λόγους τοὺς μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἐπιδείξω τούς τε δημηγορικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς πρότερον ἀπηγγελμένους τῆς ἐκδόσεως τούτων τῶν τεχνῶν, μάρτυρι πάλιν αὐτῷ χρώμενος Ἀριστοτέλει. μετὰ γὰρ ἄρχοντα Καλλίμαχον, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς εἰς Ὄλυνθον βοηθείας ἀπέστειλαν Ἀθηναῖοι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους, Θεόφιλος ἔστιν ἄρχων, καθ' ὃν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ὀλυνθίων πόλεως Φίλιππος. ἔπειτα Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν πέμπτην τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν ἀπήγγειλε Δημοσθένης περὶ τῆς φυλακῆς | τῶν νησιωτῶν 737
καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ πόλεων, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή· 'Ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι δεδυνήμεθα εὑρεῖν, ταῦτ' ἐστίν.' μετὰ δὲ Θεμιστοκλέα Ἀρχίας, ἐφ' οὗ παραινεῖ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μὴ κωλύειν Φίλιππον τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας μετέχειν μηδὲ ἀφορμὴν διδόναι πολέμου νεωστὶ πεποιημένους

1 καὶ τῶν] Radermacherus, τῶν libri, τῶν δὲ s. 8 πέντε δὲ λόγους δημοσίους mg M rubro: περὶ δὲ λόγους δηλώσει οὓς MO Pal s περὶ δὲ λόγους δηλώσει οὓς εἰς δὲ ἑλληνικὰς· περὶ δὲ λόγους δηλώσει οὓς B περὶ δὲ ε' λόγους δημοσίους Reiskius. 9 διαβαλλεῖν Pal διαβαλεῖς O. 13 τοὺς (ante μάλιστ') MBOs τοῦ Pal. 15 τῶν om. B. 18 θεόφιλός ἐστιν libri | ὃν] ἣν B. ἐκράτισε MO ἐκράτησεν B.

galleys, together with two thousand heavy-armed infantry and three hundred horsemen conveyed in transports, the whole force being composed of citizens. The entire expedition was under the command of Chares[1].'

X

Enough has been already said to expose the vain pretensions of those who affirm that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle inspired Demosthenes. Before the date of the *Rhetoric*, Demosthenes had already delivered four orations against Philip and three on the affairs of Greece. He had also written for the law-courts five public speeches, which no one could brand as inferior, poor, and showing no signs of technical mastery, because composed earlier than the *Rhetoric*. Having, however, advanced thus far, I shall not halt, but show that his most famous speeches generally, whether addressed to the people or to the law-courts, had been delivered before the publication of the *Rhetoric*. Once more Aristotle himself shall be my witness. After the archonship of Callimachus, in whose year of office the Athenians sent their reinforcements to Olynthus at the instance of Demosthenes, came the archonship of Theophilus, in whose time Olynthus fell into the hands of Philip. Next came Themistocles, under whom Demosthenes pronounced the fifth of his orations against Philip. This speech, which is concerned with the protection of the islanders and the cities of the Hellespont, begins as follows: 'This, men of Athens, is what I have been able to contrive[2].' Under Archias, the successor of Themistocles, Demosthenes urged the Athenians not to attempt to hinder Philip from becoming a member of the Amphictyonic Council, nor to give him an occasion

[1] id. *ib.* [2] Demosth. *Philipp.* I. 30.

τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην· ἀρχὴ δὲ ταύτης τῆς δημηγορίας ἐστὶν ἥδε· 'Ὁρῶ μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα.' μετὰ δὲ Ἀρχίαν ἔστιν Εὔβουλος· εἶτα Λυκίσκος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἑβδόμην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρεσβείας, ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος· 'Ὅταν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγοι γίγνωνται.' μετὰ Λυκίσκον ἔστιν ἄρχων Πυθόδοτος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ὀγδόην τῶν Φιλιππικῶν δημηγοριῶν διέθετο πρὸς τοὺς Φιλίππου πρέσβεις, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή· 'Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι,' καὶ τὸν κατ' Αἰσχίνου συνετάξατο λόγον, ὅτε τὰς εὐθύνας ἐδίδου τῆς δευτέρας πρεσβείας τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους. μετὰ Πυθόδοτον ἔστι Σωσιγένης, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἐνάτην διελήλυθεν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγορίαν περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ στρα- 738
τιωτῶν, ἵνα μὴ διαλυθῇ τὸ μετὰ Διοπείθους ξενικόν, ἀρχὴν ἔχουσαν ταύτην· 'Ἔδει μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς λέγοντας ἅπαντας'· καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τὴν δεκάτην, ἐν ᾗ πειρᾶται διδάσκειν, ὅτι λύει τὴν εἰρήνην Φίλιππος καὶ πρότερος ἐκφέρει τὸν πόλεμον, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή· 'Πολλῶν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι λόγων γιγνομένων.' μετὰ Σωσιγένην ἄρχων ἔστι Νικόμαχος, ἐφ' οὗ τὴν ἑνδεκάτην δημηγορίαν διελήλυθε περὶ τοῦ λελυκέναι τὴν εἰρήνην Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πείθει Βυζαντίοις ἀποστεῖλαι βοήθειαν, ἧς ἐστιν ἀρχή· 'Καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.' ἔπεται Νικομάχῳ Θεόφραστος ἄρχων, ἐφ' οὗ πείθει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γενναίως ὑπομεῖναι τὸν πόλεμον ὡς κατηγγελκότος αὐτὸν ἤδη Φιλίππου· καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη τελευταία τῶν κατὰ Φιλίππου δημηγοριῶν, | ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ταύτην· 'Ὅτι μὲν ὦ ἄνδρες 739
Ἀθηναῖοι Φίλιππος οὐκ ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνεβάλετο τὸν πόλεμον.'

1 δὲ] Sylburgius, καὶ libri. 6 ἄνδρες om. MO. 9 φιλίππους Pal, om. O. 10 ὅπως αἱ] s, ὅσαι libri. 12 ὄρχους B Pal s. 15 διοπείθους B Pal. 25 ἔπεται mg M rubro: ἐπὶ libri. 28 καὶ ἔστιν.....Φιλίππου om. B.

for reopening the war, now that they had recently made peace with him. This oration begins thus: 'I see, men of Athens, that the present crisis[1].' Archias was succeeded by Eubulus, and he by Lyciscus. It was in Lyciscus' year of office that Demosthenes pronounced the seventh of his orations against Philip. He there replies to the envoys from the Peloponnese, and begins thus: 'When, men of Athens, speeches are made[2].' The next archon to Lyciscus was Pythodotus, under whom Demosthenes replied to the envoys of Philip by the delivery of the eighth of the orations which bear the king's name. The opening of this speech is: 'It is not possible, men of Athens, that the accusations[3].' At the same time he also composed the speech against Aeschines, who had to render an account of his conduct in the second embassy, the object of which was to bind Philip by oaths. The successor of Pythodotus was Sosigenes, under whom he delivered the ninth oration against Philip, that on the soldiers in the Chersonese, the aim of which was to prevent the disbandment of the mercenaries commanded by Diopeithes. This begins: 'It would be best, men of Athens, that all public speakers[4].' Under the same archon he delivered the tenth speech, in which he endeavoured to show that Philip was violating the peace and was the aggressor in the war. The speech begins: 'Although many speeches, men of Athens, are made[5].' After Sosigenes the next archon was Nicomachus, in whose time he delivered the eleventh oration, on the subject of the violation of the peace by Philip, and urged the Athenians to send reinforcements to the people of Byzantium. It begins: 'Serious as I consider, men of Athens[6].' In the archonship of Theophrastus, who followed Nicomachus, Demosthenes urged the Athenians to sustain the war bravely, Philip having already declared it. This, the last of the orations against Philip, opens thus: 'The fact that Philip did not, men of Athens, make peace with you, but only deferred the war[7].'

[1] Demosth. *de Pace* I.

[2] Demosth. *Philipp.* II. 1. [3] (Hegesippus) *de Halonneso* I.

[4] Demosth. *de Chers.* I. [5] Demosth. *Philipp.* III. 1.

[6] [Demosth.] *Philipp.* IV. 1. [7] [Demosth.] *Orat. ad Philippi Epistulam* I.

XI

Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τούτους ἅπαντας τοὺς λόγους οὓς κατηρίθμημαι πρὸ τῆς ἐκδόσεως τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλη παρέξομαι μαρτυροῦντα. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βύβλῳ τῶν τεχνῶν τοὺς τόπους ὁρίζειν, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ ἐνθυμήματα φέρεται, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου παραλαμβάνει παρατιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰ παραδείγματα. θήσω δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν τοῦ φιλοσόφου λέξιν· 'ἄλλος εἰς τὸν χρόνον σκοπεῖ· οἷον, ὡς ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἁρμόδιον, ὅτι εἰ πρὶν ποιῆσαι ἠξίου τῆς εἰκόνος τυχεῖν ἐὰν ποιήσῃ, ἔδοτε ἄν· ποιήσαντι δ' οὐ δώσετε; μὴ τοίνυν, μέλλοντες μὲν ὑπισχνεῖσθε, παθόντες δὲ ἀφαιρεῖ|σθε.' καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸ διὰ Θηβαίων διιέναι 740
Φίλιππον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὅτι εἰ πρὶν βοηθῆσαι <εἰς> Φωκεῖς ἠξίου, ὑπέσχοντο ἄν· ἄτοπον οὖν εἰ, διότι προεῖτο καὶ ἐπίστευσεν, μὴ διήσουσιν.'

Ὁ δὲ χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ Φίλιππος ἠξίου Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι δίοδον ὑπομιμνήσκων τῆς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Φωκεῖς πολέμῳ γενομένης βοηθείας, ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς γίγνεται φανερὸς ἱστορίας. εἶχε γὰρ οὕτως· μετὰ τὴν Ὀλυνθίων ἅλωσιν ἄρχοντος Θεμιστοκλέους συνθῆκαι Φιλίππῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ἐγένοντο περὶ φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας· αὗται διέμειναν ἐπταετῆ χρόνον ἄχρι Νικομάχου· ἐπὶ δὲ Θεοφράστου τοῦ μετὰ Νικόμαχον ἄρξαντος ἐλύθησαν, Ἀθηναίων μὲν Φίλιππον αἰτιωμένων ἄρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, Φιλίππου δὲ Ἀθηναίοις ἐγκαλοῦντος. τὰς δὲ

1 δὲ καὶ] Us, δὲ δέκα libri. 4 βίβλῳ libri. 6 παραλαμβάνειν libri: corr. s | αὐτῷ om. O. 8 ἄλλως M. ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ τὸν χρόνον σκοπεῖν in A Par t. οἷον] οἷς O | ὡς ὁ libri: ὡς A s. 9 ὅτι] A s, ὃς libri | ἠξίου MBO s ἠξίους P: ἠξίουν Sylburgius ex A. 10 ποιήσω] A | ἔδοτε] A s, ἔδοξε libri | δ' ἄρ' οὐ A. 12 πρὸς τὸ Θηβαίους διεῖναι A. 13 εἰς ex A supplevit Sauppius. 14 εἰ διότι A s: εἰ δόντι libri. 15 ἐπίστευσεν A: διέσπευσεν libri | διήσουσιν A: δώσουσιν libri. 16 θηβαίοις B Pal. 17 αὐτῷ BO Pal s. 19 κοικῆς Pal. 20 συνθῆ καὶ B Pal.

XI

To show that all the speeches I have enumerated were delivered by Demosthenes before the publication of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, I will bring forward Aristotle himself as witness. In the course of the passage in the Second Book of the *Rhetoric*, in which he defines the topics from which enthymemes are derived, he deals with that of time and illustrates it by examples. I will quote his actual words. 'Another topic has reference to time. For example, Iphicrates in defending himself against Harmodius said, "If before rendering these services I had claimed the statue in the event of rendering them, you would have granted it. Will you refuse it, when they are already rendered? Nay, do not promise a reward in anticipation, and withhold it after realisation." Again, with the object of inducing the Thebans to allow Philip a passage through their territory into Attica, it might be urged that if he had made the demand before he helped them against the Phocians they would have promised, and it would therefore be a scandal if they refused the request now because he then trusted to their honour and forbore to extort pledges[1].'

Now the date at which Philip called upon the Thebans to grant him a passage into Attica reminding them of his help in the Phocian War, is clear from known facts. The circumstances were as follows. In the archonship of Themistocles, after the capture of Olynthus, Philip made a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Athenians. This covenant lasted seven years, till the year of Nicomachus. It was brought to an end under the archon Theophrastus, who succeeded Nicomachus. The Athenians accused Philip of beginning the war, while Philip blamed the Athenians. The

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* II. 23, 6.

αἰτίας δι' | ἃς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον κατέστησαν ἀδικεῖσθαι 741
λέγοντες ἀμφότεροι, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὴν εἰρήνην
ἔλυσαν, ἀκριβῶς δηλοῖ Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῆς Ἀτθίδος
βύβλῳ. θήσω δ' ἐξ αὐτῆς τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· 'Θεό-
φραστος Ἀλαιεύς· ἐπὶ τούτου Φίλιππος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
ἀναπλεύσας Περίνθῳ προσέβαλεν, ἀποτυχὼν δ' ἐντεῦθεν
Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει καὶ μηχανήματα προσῆγεν.' ἔπειτα
διεξελθών, ὅσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιππος ἐνεκάλει διὰ
τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ταῦτα πάλιν κατὰ λέξιν ἐπιτίθησιν· 'ὁ δὲ
δῆμος ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ Δημοσθένους παρακα-
λέσαντος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ <τὰ> ψηφίσματα
γράψαντος ἐχειροτόνησε τὴν μὲν στήλην καθελεῖν τὴν
περὶ τῆς πρὸς Φίλιππον εἰρήνης καὶ συμμαχίας σταθεῖσαν,
ναῦς δὲ πληροῦν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐνεργεῖν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.'

Ταῦτα γράψας κατὰ Θεόφραστον ἄρχοντα | γεγονέναι, 742
τῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἐνιαυτῷ τὰ πραχθέντα μετὰ τὴν λύσιν
τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπὶ Λυσιμαχίδου ἄρχοντος διεξέρχεται. θήσω
δὲ καὶ τούτων αὐτὰ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα· 'Λυσιμαχίδης
Ἀχαρνεύς· ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ μὲν ἔργα τὰ περὶ τοὺς νεωσοί-
κους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην ἀνεβάλοντο διὰ τὸν πόλεμον
τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐψηφίσαντο πάντ'
εἶναι στρατιωτικὰ Δημοσθένους γράψαντος. Φιλίππου
δὲ καταλαβόντος Ἐλάτειαν καὶ Κυτίνιον καὶ πρέσβεις
πέμψαντος εἰς Θήβας Θετταλῶν Αἰνιάνων Αἰτωλῶν Δολό-
πων Φθιωτῶν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον
πρέσβεις ἀποστειλάντων τοὺς περὶ Δημοσθένη, τούτοις
συμμαχεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο.' φανερὸν δὴ γεγονότος τοῦ
χρόνου, καθ' ὃν εἰσῆλθον εἰς Θήβας οἵ τε Ἀθηναίων
πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ οἱ παρὰ Φιλίππου, ὅτι

4 βυβλω B Pal: βιβλω MO s. 5 ἀλλαιεύς libri: corr. Herwerdenus | τούτους Pal. 9 ταῦτα.....10 ἐπιστολῆς MBO: om. Pal s. 11 τὰ add. Weilius. 18 τούτων αὐτὰ] Reiskius, αὐτῶν τὰ libri. 24 verba καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ post Θήβας intercidisse putat Us. 27 ἐψηφίσατο libri: corr. Reiskius.

reasons for which the two parties, each of which claimed to be in the right, engaged in the war, and the date at which they violated the peace, are precisely indicated by Philochorus in the Sixth Book of his *Atthis*, from which I will quote simply the essential particulars: 'Theophrastus of the deme Halae. Under his archonship Philip, first of all, attacked Perinthus by sea. Failing here, he next laid siege to Byzantium and brought engines of war against it[1].' Afterwards he recounts the allegations which Philip made against the Athenians in his letter, and adds these words which I quote as they stand: 'The people, after listening to the letter and to the exhortations of Demosthenes, who advocated war and framed the necessary resolutions, passed a resolution to demolish the column erected to record the treaty of peace and alliance with Philip, and further to man a fleet and in every other way to prosecute the war energetically[2].'

After assigning these events to the archonship of Theophrastus, he describes the occurrences of the succeeding year when Lysimachides was archon after the violation of the peace. Here again I will quote only the most essential particulars. 'Lysimachides of the deme Acharnae. Under this archon the Athenians, in consequence of the war against Philip, deferred the construction of the docks and the arsenal. They resolved, on the motion of Demosthenes, that all the funds should be devoted to the campaign. But Philip seized Elateia and Cytinium, and sent to Thebes representatives of the Thessalians, Aenianians, Aetolians, Dolopians, Phthiotians. An embassy, headed by Demosthenes, was at the same time despatched by the Athenians, with whom the Thebans resolved to enter into alliance[3].' Now it is clear that it was under the archonship of Lysimachides, when both sides had already made preparations for war, that the Athenian envoys headed by Demosthenes and those sent by Philip

[1] Philochorus *fragm.* 135 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 406).
[2] id. *ib.* [3] id. *ib.*

κατὰ Λυσιμαχίδην ἄρχοντα πίπτει, παρεσκευασμένων ἤδη τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφοτέρων, αὐτὸς ὁ Δημοσθένης ποιήσει φανερὸν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγῳ, τίνες ἦσαν αἱ παρὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἀξιώσεις· | θήσω 743
δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς λαβὼν τῆς ἐκείνου λέξεως τὰ συντείνοντα πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα· 'Οὕτως διαθεὶς Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας διὰ τούτων, καὶ τούτοις ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἦκεν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλάτειαν κατέλαβεν, ὡς οὐδ' ἂν εἴ τι γένοιτο, ἔτι συμπνευσάντων ἡμῶν ἂν καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων.' ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰ τότε συμβάντα διεξελθών, διεξελθὼν δὲ τοὺς ῥηθέντας ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὡς πρεσβευτὴς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων εἰς Θήβας ἐπέμφθη, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἐπιτίθησιν· 'ὡς δ' ἀφικόμεθα εἰς τὰς Θήβας, κατελαμβάνομεν Φιλίππου καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων παρόντας πρέσβεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους φίλους ἐν φόβῳ, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνου θρασεῖς.' ἔπειτ' ἐπιστολήν τινα κελεύσας ἀναγνωσθῆναι ταῦτ' ἐπιτίθησιν· 'ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, προσῆγον ἐκείνους <προτέρους> διὰ τὸ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων τάξιν ἐκείνους ἔχειν. καὶ παριόντες ἐδημηγόρουν πολλὰ μὲν Φίλιππον ἐγκωμιάζοντες, πολλὰ δ' ὑμῖν ἐγκαλοῦντες, πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτε ἐναντία ἐπρά|ξατε Θηβαίους ἀναμι- 744
μνήσκοντες. τὸ δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον, ἠξίουν, ὧν μὲν εὖ πεπόνθεσαν ὑπὸ Φιλίππου χάριν αὐτοὺς ἀποδοῦναι, ὧν δ' ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἠδίκηνται δίκην λαβεῖν, ὁποτέρως βούλονται, ἢ διιέντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἢ συνεμβάλλοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν.' εἰ δὴ κατὰ Λυσιμαχίδην μὲν ἄρχοντα τὸν μετὰ Θεόφραστον λελυμένης ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης οἱ παρὰ

4 *al* περὶ libri: corr. Herwerdenus. 6 ὁ Φίλιππος s ex Demosth. 10 *συμπνευσάντων*] Elmsleius, *συμπνευσώντων* libri: eadem lectio in codd. Dem. exstat | ἂν ἡμῶν Dem. 11 alterum διεξελθὼν MB² Pal. 14 δ'] γὰρ Dem. 20 προτέρους e Demosth. addidi, om. libri. 21 παρειόντες O παρελθόντες Dem. 22 πολλὰ δ' ὑμῶν κατηγοροῦντες Dem. 23 Θηβαίους Dem. 26 ἠδίκηται M ἠδίκητο Dem. Σ¹ | ὁπότερος Pal. 27 διέντας Pal ut Dem. Σ al.

entered Thebes Demosthenes himself, in his speech *On the Crown*, will show clearly what were the claims preferred by the two embassies. I will quote from the actual text the parts which bear upon the question. 'By these means Philip sowed discord among the Greek states; and encouraged by the decrees and answers already mentioned, he came with his army and seized Elateia. He assumed that, whatever happened, we and the Thebans could never again act in concert[1].' Moreover, after describing the events which then ensued and describing also the speeches delivered by himself before the public assembly and the circumstances under which he was sent by the Athenians as an ambassador to Thebes, he adds (to quote his actual words): 'When we arrived at Thebes, we found representatives of Philip, of the Thessalians and of the rest of the allies, already there and our friends in a state of alarm, his full of confidence[2].' Then, after requesting a certain letter to be read, he continues: 'So when the Thebans had convened the assembly, they introduced Philip's representatives first, because they had the status of allies. And these came forward and addressed the people, paying many compliments to Philip, and laying to your charge many faults, recalling every instance in which you at any time opposed the Thebans. In brief, they urged them to show their gratitude for the favours conferred upon them by Philip, and to seek satisfaction for the wrongs done them by you. They might avenge themselves in either of the two following ways as they pleased; they might allow Philip's troops to pass through their territory to attack you, or they might join him in invading Attica[3].' Now if it was in the archonship of Lysimachides, the successor of Theophrastus, and after the

[1] Dem. *de Cor.* 168, p. 254. [2] Dem. *de Cor.* 211, p. 298.
[3] Dem. *de Cor.* 213, p. 299.

Φιλίππου πρέσβεις εἰς Θήβας ἀπεστάλησαν παρακαλοῦντες αὐτοὺς μάλιστα μὲν συνεισβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, εἰ δὲ μή, δίοδον τῷ Φιλίππῳ παρασχεῖν μεμνημένους τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον, ταύτης δὲ μέμνηται τῆς πρεσβείας Ἀριστοτέλης, ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐπέδειξα τὰς ἐκείνου λέξεις παρασχόμενος, ἀναμφιλόγοις δήπουθεν ἀποδέδεικται τεκμηρίοις, ὅτι πάντες οἱ Δημοσθένους ἀγῶνες | οἱ πρὸ τῆς Λυσιμαχίδου 745
ἀρχῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις τε καὶ δικαστηρίοις γενόμενοι προτεροῦσι τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν.

XII

Ἑτέραν προσθήσω μαρτυρίαν παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λαβών, ἐξ ἧς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔσται φανερόν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν συμβάντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς Φίλιππον αἱ ῥητορικαὶ συνετάχθησαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τέχναι, Δημοσθένους ἀκμάζοντος ἤδη κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ πάντας εἰρηκότος τούς τε δημηγορικοὺς καὶ τοὺς δικανικοὺς λόγους, ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἐμνήσθην. διεξιὼν γὰρ τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας τίθησι· παρέξομαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου λέξιν· 'ἄλλος παρὰ τὸ ἀναίτιον <ὡς αἴτιον>, οἷον τῷ ἅμα ἢ μετὰ τοῦτο γεγονέναι. τὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦτο <ὡς διὰ τοῦτο> λαμβάνουσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις· ὡς ὁ Δημάδης τὴν Δημοσθένους πολιτείαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἰτίαν· μετ' ἐκεῖνο γὰρ συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος.' | ποίους οὖν ὁ Δημο- 746
σθένης κατεσκεύασεν ἀγῶνας ταῖς Ἀριστοτελείοις τέχναις

2 συνεισβάλλειν libri : corr. Herwerdenus. 7 δήπουθεν] ἂν ἀποθὰν P ἂν MBO ἄρ' Weilius. 10 προτεροῦσι] Herwerdenus, πρότερον s πρότεροι libri. 11 παρὰ M περὶ BO Pal. 14 ῥητορικαὶ καὶ Pal. 20 τὸν ἀναίτιον libri : corr. s | ὡς αἴτιον om. libri : ex A supplevit s. 21 ὡς διὰ τοῦτο supplevit s ex A. 22 ὡς] οἷον ὡς A. 24 μετ' ἐκείνην A s | συνέβη ὁ πόλεμος supplevit s ex A : lacunam indicant libri | οὖν] Reiskius, γ' οὖν M γοῦν BO Pal s.

peace had been dissolved, that the ambassadors of Philip were sent to the Thebans urging them to join in invading Attica, or (failing that) to allow Philip the right of passage in recognition of his services in the Phocian War, and if further this is the embassy mentioned by Aristotle, as I showed a little earlier when I cited his own words, then surely it is demonstrated by irrefutable proofs that all the speeches of Demosthenes which were addressed to public assemblies and to law-courts before the archonship of Lysimachides are earlier than the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.

XII

I will add another piece of evidence furnished by the philosopher, from which it will appear still more plainly that his *Rhetoric* was composed after the war which broke out between Philip and the Athenians, when Demosthenes had reached his prime as a statesman and had delivered all the deliberative and the forensic speeches which I mentioned a little while ago. Among the topics of enthymemes enumerated by him, the philosopher includes that of cause. I will adduce his own words. 'Another topic consists in regarding what is no cause as a cause, because (it may be) one thing happens with or after another. *Post hoc* is assumed to be identical with *propter hoc*; and this is specially the case in the world of politics. Demades, for example, considered the administration of Demosthenes to have caused all the troubles of the state, for it was thereafter that the war occurred[1].' Now what can the speeches have been which Demosthenes composed under the guidance of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle if (as I have

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 24, 8.

ὁδηγοῖς χρησάμενος, εἰ πάντες οἱ δημόσιοι λόγοι, δι' οὓς ἐπαινεῖταί τε καὶ θαυμάζεται, πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγόνασιν, ὡς πρότερον ἐπέδειξα, πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου; οὗτος γὰρ μόνος εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελήλυθεν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος ἄρχοντος <ὀγδόῳ> μὲν ἐνιαυτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην, ἕκτῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Φιλίππου τελευτήν, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τὴν ἐν Ἀρβήλοις ἐνίκα μάχην.

Εἰ δέ τις ἐρεῖ τῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα φιλονεικούντων, ὅτι τοῦτον ἴσως ἔγραψε τὸν λόγον ταῖς Ἀριστοτέλους ἐντετευχὼς τέχναις, τὸν κράτιστον ἁπάντων <τῶν> λόγων, πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἔχων, ἵνα μὴ μακρότερος τοῦ δέοντος ὁ λόγος γένηταί μοι, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπιδείξειν ὑπισχνοῦμαι τὸν ἀγῶνα πρὸ τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους τεχνῶν ἐπιτετελεσμένον αὐτῷ χρησάμενος τῷ φιλοσόφῳ μάρτυρι. προθεὶς γὰρ τόπον ἐνθυμημάτων τὸν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, ταῦτα κατὰ | λέξιν γράφει· 'ἄλλος ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα· 747
εἰ γὰρ θατέρῳ <ὑπάρχει τὸ καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ποιῆσαι, θατέρῳ> τὸ πεπονθέναι, καὶ εἰ κελεῦσαι, καὶ τὸ πεποιηκέναι· οἷον ὡς ὁ τελώνης ὁ Διομέδων· εἰ γὰρ μηδ' ὑμῖν αἰσχρὸν τὸ πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ ἡμῖν τὸ ὠνεῖσθαι. καὶ εἰ τῷ πεπονθότι <τὸ> καλῶς ἢ δικαίως ὑπάρχει, τῷ πεπραγμένῳ ὑπάρξει καὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι ἢ ποιοῦντι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο παραλογίσασθαι· οὐ γὰρ εἰ δικαίως ἔπαθεν, ἅμα καὶ δικαίως ὑπὸ τούτου πέπονθε. διὸ δεῖ σκοπεῖν χωρίς, εἰ ἄξιος ὁ παθὼν παθεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιήσας ποιῆσαι, εἶτα χρῆσθαι

5 ὀγδόῳ add. Bentleius. 6 ἕκτῳ] Bentleius, ὀκτὼ libri. 11 ἐντετευχὼς M ἐντετυχηκὼς s. τῶν λόγων] Us, λόγων libri. 18, 19 ὑπάρχει .....θατέρῳ s ex A: om. libri. 20 ὁ διομέδων libri: Διομέδων περὶ τῶν τελῶν A Par. 22 τὸ καλῶς] A, καλῶς libri. ἢ] A, καὶ libri. 22 τῷ πεπραγμένῳ.....23 ποιοῦντι] καὶ τῷ πείσαντι ἢ ποιήσαντι A Par. 23 δὲ τοῦτο libri cum A Par. 24 οὐ γὰρ...πέπονθε] εἰ γὰρ δικαίως ἔπαθέν τι, δικαίως πέπονθεν, ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ὑπὸ σοῦ A. ἅμα] Us, ἂν libri. 25 ὡς ὁ φόνου ἄξια ποιήσας πατήρ, εἰ ὑπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀπάγεται scholion mg M rubro, in textum receperunt Pal s: om. BO.

previously shown) all the public addresses on which his reputation and fame depend preceded the war? The sole exception is the speech *On the Crown*. This, and this alone, came before a tribunal after the war, in the archonship of Aristophon, eight years after the battle of Chaeroneia, six years after the death of Philip, at the time of Alexander's victory at Arbela.

If some captious critic suggests that possibly Demosthenes did not write this, the best of all his speeches, before he had perused the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, I have much to say in reply to him. But in order that my discussion may not run to undue length, I engage to show, on the evidence of Aristotle himself, that this oration also was completed before the publication of the *Rhetoric*. In dealing with the topic of enthymemes derived from relative terms, he writes the exact words which follow. 'Another topic is that derived from relative terms. If the terms "honorably" or "justly" can be applied to the man who acts, they can also be applied to the man who is affected by the action; if they can be applied to a command, they can also be applied to its execution. In this spirit the tax-gatherer Diomedon exclaimed: "If it is no discredit to you to sell the taxes, it is no discredit to us to buy them." And if the terms "honorably" or "justly" can be applied to a man affected by an action, they can also be applied to the action itself and to the man who has done or is doing it. This is a case of unsound argument. For if a man has been justly treated, it does not necessarily follow that he has been justly treated by a particular agent. Accordingly we must consider separately whether the treatment is right and whether the action is right, and then deal with the case in whichever of the

ὁποτέρως ἂν ἁρμόττῃ. ἐνίοτε γὰρ | διαφωνεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον, 748
ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Θεοδέκτου . . . καὶ οἷον ἡ
περὶ Δημοσθένους δίκη καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων Νικάνορα.'
τίς οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημοσθένους δίκη [καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων
Νικάνορα] περὶ ἧς ὁ φιλόσοφος γέγραφεν, ἐν ᾗ τὸ κυριώ-
τατον τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως κεφάλαιον ἦν ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς
ἄλληλα τόπου; ἡ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος τοῦ
παρασχόντος Δημοσθένει τὸ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου ψήφισμα
καὶ τὴν τῶν παρανόμων φεύγοντος γραφήν· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ
τὸ ζητούμενον ἦν οὐ τὸ κοινόν, εἰ τιμῶν καὶ στεφάνων
ἄξιος ἦν Δημοσθένης ἐπιδοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων τὴν
εἰς τὰ τείχη δαπάνην, ἀλλ' εἰ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ὑπεύθυνος
ἦν, κωλύοντος τοῦ νόμου τοὺς ὑπευθύνους στεφανοῦν.
τὸ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῦτ' ἔστιν, εἴ ὥσπερ τῷ
δήμῳ τὸ δοῦναι, | οὕτως καὶ τῷ ὑπευθύνῳ τὸ λαβεῖν τὸν 749
στέφανον ἐξῆν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ταύτης οἶομαι τῆς δίκης
μεμνῆσθαι τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη. εἰ δέ τις ἐρεῖ, ὅτι περὶ τῆς
τῶν δώρων, ἦν ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους ἄρχοντος ἀπελογήσατο
περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, πολλῷ νεωτέρας ἔτι ποιήσει
τὰς Ἀριστοτέλους τέχνας τῶν Δημοσθένους ἀγώνων.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὁ ῥήτωρ παρὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου
τὰς τέχνας παρέλαβεν ἃς εἰς τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους
κατεσκεύασε λόγους, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον τὰ Δημοσθένους
καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ῥητόρων ἔργα παραθέμενος Ἀριστο-
τέλης ταύτας ἔγραψε τὰς τέχνας, ἱκανῶς ἀποδεδεῖχθαι
νομίζω.

1 *ἐνίοτε*] s ex A, *ἐνίοις* libri | *τοιοῦτον*] *τοιοῦτον καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει* A.
2 exempla ex Alcm. Theod. prompta omisit Dionysius | *οἷον* om. in A Par, non t.
4 *καὶ*.....5 *Νικάνορα* seclusit Weilius. 7 *τόπου; ἡ*] Us, *τόπου ἢ ἡ* libri.
11 *ἐπιδοὺς*] Herwerdenus, *ἐπιδιδοὺς* libri. 23 *κατεσκεύασαι* MO. 24 *τὰ* om. B. 26 *Διονυσίου ἀμμαίῳ τῷ φιλ|τάτῳ. πλεῖστα χαίρειν*: | *τέλος* subscribit M eandem subscriptionem quarto addito versu *τοῦ διονυσίου*: praestat O nihil tale habent BPs.

two ways seems the more suitable. For sometimes there is a distinction to be made, as in the *Alcmaeon* of Theodectes .....Another example is the trial in which Demosthenes and those who slew Nicanor were involved[1].' What, then, is the trial of Demosthenes [and of those who slew Nicanor] to which Aristotle here refers, in which the most important point in the controversy was derived from the topic of relative terms? It is that in which he defended, against Aeschines, Ctesiphon, who had proposed to crown Demosthenes and was on his trial as the author of an unconstitutional measure. For in this case the point at issue was not the general question whether Demosthenes deserved honours and crowns as having provided for the construction of the fortifications out of his own means, but whether he deserved these things while he was an official liable to account, and notwithstanding the fact that it was illegal to crown men who were so liable. Here we have the topic of relative terms: the point is whether a man liable to account had the same right to receive, as the people to give, the crown. It is my opinion, therefore, that Aristotle refers to this trial. If, however, it is maintained that the reference is to the accusation of corruption against which Demosthenes pleaded in the archonship of Anticles, about the time of the death of Alexander, this will prove that the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle is later than the speeches of Demosthenes by a still greater interval.

But enough. The orator did not derive from the philosopher the rules of rhetoric which he embodied in his celebrated speeches. On the contrary, Aristotle wrote his *Rhetoric* with the works of Demosthenes, and the other orators, within his reach. I have, I think, proved my point.

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 23, 3.

DIONYSII HALICARNASSENSIS

EPISTULA AD CN. POMPEIUM GEMINUM.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΓΝΑΙΩΙ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΩΙ 750 R

ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

I

Ἐπιστολήν τινα παρὰ σοῦ κομισθεῖσαν ἐδεξάμην εὐπαίδευτόν τε καὶ πάνυ μοι κεχαρισμένην, ἐν ᾗ γράφεις, ὅτι τὰς συντάξεις τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιχορηγοῦντός σοι Ζήνωνος τοῦ κοινοῦ φίλου διαπορευόμενος καὶ πάνυ διατιθέμενος οἰκείως ἐν αὐταῖς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα θαυμάζεις, ἐνὶ δὲ μέρει δυσχεραίνεις τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κατακεχωρισμένων, τῇ Πλάτωνος κατηγορίᾳ. ὅτι μὲν οὖν σεβαστικῶς διάκεισαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ὀρθῶς ποιεῖς· ὅτι | δὲ περὶ ἡμῶν ταῦτα 751 ὑπείληφας, οὐκ ὀρθῶς. εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος ἐκπλήττεται ταῖς Πλατωνικαῖς ἑρμηνείαις, εὖ ἴσθι νῦν, κἀγὼ τούτων εἷς εἰμι. ὃ δὲ πέπονθα πρὸς ἅπαντας, ὅσοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπινοίας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν φέρουσιν ὠφέλειαν ἐπανορθοῦντες <τοὺς> ἡμῶν βίους τε καὶ λόγους, ἐρῶ σοι, καὶ πείσω γε, νὴ Δία, πιστεύειν καινὸν οὐδὲν εὑρεῖν οὐδὲ παράδοξον οὐδ' ὃ μὴ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως δοκεῖ.

Ἐγὼ οὖν νομίζω δεῖν, ὅταν μὲν ἔπαινον προέληται γράφειν τις πράγματος εἴτε σώματος ὁποίου γέ τινος, τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ τἀτυχήματα, εἴ τινα πρόσεστι, [τῷ

1 Ἐπιστολή | *Διονύσιος γναίωι πομπηίωι χαίρειν* M et omisso *ἐπιστολή* Pal s *Διονύσιος γναίω πομπηίω χαίρειν* B. 15 *τοὺς* inseruit Us. 20 *τἀτυχήματα*] Herwerdenus, *τὰ τυχήματα* M *τὰ ἀτυχήματα* Pal B s. *εἴ τι* libri: corr. Reiskius | 20 *τῷ*.....p. 90, 1 *δεῖν*: haec verba non sine causa suspectant edd.

DIONYSIUS TO GNAEUS POMPEIUS

WITH GREETINGS.

I

I have received with great pleasure the scholarly letter you sent me. Zeno, our common friend, has supplied you (so you write) with a copy of my treatises. In going through them and making them your own, on the whole you admire them, but are dissatisfied, you say, with one portion of their contents, namely, the criticism of Plato. Now you are right in the reverence you feel for that writer, but not right in your view of my position. You may rest assured that I must be numbered among those who have fallen most completely under the spell of Plato's gifts of expression. But I will explain to you my attitude towards all thinkers who are public benefactors and desire to reform our lives and words. And what is more, I mean to convince you that I have discovered nothing new, or startling, or contrary to the universally accepted view.

Now I think it is an author's duty, when he elects to write a panegyric of some achievement or some person, to give prominence to merits rather than to any deficiencies.

πράγματι ἢ τῷ σώματι δεῖν] προφέρειν· ὅταν δὲ βουληθῇ διαγνῶναι, τί τὸ κράτιστον ἐν ὅτῳ δή ποτε βίῳ καὶ τί τὸ βέλτιστον τῶν ὑπὸ ταὐτὸ γένος ἔργων, τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐξέτασιν προσφέρειν καὶ μηδὲν παραλείπειν τῶν προσόν-
5 των αὐτοῖς εἴτε κακῶν εἴτε ἀγαθῶν· | ἡ γὰρ ἀλήθεια 752
οὕτως εὑρίσκεται μάλιστα, ἧς οὐδὲν χρῆμα τιμιώτερον. τοῦτο δὴ προθέμενος ἐκεῖνο λέγω· εἰ μὲν ἔστι μοι κατὰ Πλάτωνος λόγος τις καταδρομὴν περιέχων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ Ζωΐλῳ τῷ ῥήτορι, ἀσεβεῖν ὁμολογῶ· καὶ εἴ γε
10 βουληθεὶς ἐγκώμιον αὐτοῦ γράφειν ψόγους τινὰς συγκαταπλέκω τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἀδικεῖν φημι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τοὺς καθεστῶτας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις νόμους· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι διαβολὰς οἴομαι δεῖν γράφειν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπολογίας. εἰ δὲ χαρακτῆρας λόγου προελόμενος σκοπεῖν
15 καὶ τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς φιλοσόφους τε καὶ ῥήτορας ἐξετάζειν τρεῖς μὲν ἐξ ἁπάντων ἐξελεξάμην τοὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι λαμπροτάτους, Ἰσοκράτην τε καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Δημοσθένη, ἐκ δὲ τούτων αὐτῶν πάλιν προέκρινα Δημοσθένη, οὐδὲν ἧμην οὔτε Πλάτωνα οὔτε Ἰσοκράτην ἀδικεῖν.
20 | Νὴ Δία, φῄς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔδει σε τὰ Πλάτωνος ἁμαρτή- 753
ματα ἐξελέγχειν, βουλόμενον ἐπαινεῖν Δημοσθένη. ἔπειτα πῶς ἄν μοι τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην βάσανον ὁ λόγος ἔλαβεν, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀρίστους λόγους τῶν Ἰσοκράτους τε καὶ Πλάτωνος τοῖς κρατίστοις <τῶν> Δημοσθένους ἀντιπαρέ-
25 θηκα καὶ καθ' ὃ μέρος ἧττους οἱ τούτων λόγοι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μετὰ πάσης ἀληθείας ἐπέδειξα, οὐχ ἅπαντα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτῆσθαι λέγων (μανίας γὰρ τοῦτό γε), ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἅπαντα ἐπίσης κατωρθῶσθαι; εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐποίουν, ἐπῄνουν δὲ Δημοσθένη πάσας διεξιὼν αὐτοῦ
30 τὰς ἀρετάς, ὡς μὲν ἀγαθὸς ὁ ῥήτωρ, ἔπεισα πάντως ἂν τοὺς ἀναγνωσομένους· ὡς δὲ καὶ κράτιστος πάντων τῶν

4 προσφέρειν] Us, προφέρειν libri. 10 ψόγους] Holwellus, λόγους libri.
11 ἀδικεῖν.....12 τοῖς ἐπαίνοις MB: om. Pal s. 20 φῄς] Us, φησίν libri.
24 τῶν add. Herwerden.

But when he wishes to determine what is most excellent in some walk of life and what is the best among a number of deeds of the same class, he ought to apply the most rigorous investigation and to take account of every quality whether good or bad. For this is the surest way of discovering truth, than which there is no more precious boon. So much premised, I make a further declaration. If there is any writing of mine which, like the work of Zoilus the rhetorician, contains an attack upon Plato, I plead guilty of impiety. And if when my design is to write a eulogy of him I interweave some fault-finding with my praises, I admit that I am in the wrong and am transgressing the laws by which eulogies are governed among us. For in my opinion they should not contain even vindications, much less detractions. On the other hand, when after undertaking to examine varieties of style, together with their foremost representatives among philosophers and orators, I chose from the entire number three who are generally held to be the most brilliant—Isocrates and Plato and Demosthenes—and among these again I gave the preference to Demosthenes, I thought I did no wrong either to Plato or to Isocrates.

That may be, you say, but you should not have exposed the faults of Plato, in your desire to extol Demosthenes. How then would my argument have undergone the most searching test had I not compared the best discourses of Isocrates and Plato with the finest of Demosthenes, and thus shown with the utmost candour in what respect their discourses are inferior to his, not maintaining that those two writers were always at fault (for that would be sheer lunacy), but not maintaining, either, that they were always and uniformly successful? If I had avoided this course, and had simply eulogised Demosthenes and detailed all his excellences, I should certainly have convinced my readers of the orator's worth; but unless I had compared him with the best of his

πρωτευσάντων περὶ λόγους, οὐκ ἂν ἔπεισα μὴ παρατιθεὶς αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀρίστους· πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν καθ' αὑτὰ φαινομένων καλῶν καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἑτέροις ἀντιπαρατεθέντα κρείττοσιν ἐλάττω τῆς δόξης ἐφάνη. οὕτω | γέ τοι καὶ 754
χρυσὸς ἑτέρῳ χρυσῷ παρατεθεὶς κρείττων εἴτε καὶ χείρων εὑρίσκεται καὶ πᾶν ἄλλο χειρούργημα, καὶ ὅσων ἐνάργεια τὸ τέλος.

Εἰ δὲ ἀχάριστον ὑπολήψεταί τις ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις τὴν ἐκ τῆς συγκρίσεως ἐξέτασιν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἀξιώσει σκοπεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύσει τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιεῖν, καὶ μήτε ποίησιν ἀντεξετάζειν ἑτέρᾳ ποιήσει μήθ' ἱστορικὴν σύνταξιν ἑτέρᾳ συντάξει μήτε πολιτείαν πολιτείᾳ μήτε νόμον νόμῳ, μὴ στρατηγὸν στρατηγῷ, μὴ βασιλεῖ βασιλέα, μὴ βίῳ βίον, μὴ δόγματι δόγμα· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄν τις συγχωρήσειε νοῦν ἔχων. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν μαρτυριῶν παρασχέσθαι σοι πίστεις, ἐξ ὧν μᾶλλόν σοι γενήσεται καταφανές, ὅτι κράτιστος ἐλέγχου τρόπος ὁ κατὰ σύγκρισιν γιγνόμενος, ἀφεὶς τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτῷ χρήσομαι μάρτυρι Πλάτωνι. βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἣν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς λόγοις, οὐκ ἠρκέ|σθη ταῖς ἄλλαις 755
γραφαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ * * * κρατίστου τῶν τότε ῥητόρων ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ συνετάξατο λόγον ἐρωτικὸν εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι τούτου προελθὼν ἐπαύσατο καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις τὴν διάγνωσιν, ὁπότερός ἐστι κρείττων λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἥψατο τῶν Λυσιείων, τὰς μὲν λεκτικὰς μαρτυρῶν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀρετάς, τῶν δὲ πραγματικῶν ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. ὁπότε οὖν Πλάτων τὸ φορτικώτατον καὶ ἐπαχθέστατον τῶν ἔργων

5 εἴτε] Us, τε libri. 13 μήτε νόμων] Us, μὴ νόμων libri. 18 ὁ Pal s: om. MB | γιγνόμενος MB: γινόμενος Pal s. 22 hiatum quem Sadaeus sensit sic fere explendum esse censet Usenerus ἀλλὰ καὶ <Λυσίου λόγον ἐρωτικὸν ἐκδεδωκότος, τοῦ> κρατίστου | κρατίστου MB κράτιστον Pal s. 25 ἐπὶ] Us, ἐν libri. 26 ὁπότερος Pal B s: πότερος M. 27 Λυσείων M Pal B Λυσίου s.

rivals, I should not have proved that he holds the very first place among all who have distinguished themselves in oratory. For many things which in themselves are thought beautiful and worthy of admiration appear to fall short of their reputation when set side by side with other things that are better. Thus gold when contrasted with other gold is found to be superior or inferior, and this is true of all manufactured articles, and of all objects designed to produce a brilliant effect.

But if in the province of civil oratory the comparative method of inquiry be judged ungracious, and a demand made for the examination of each writer individually, the same restriction will inevitably be introduced everywhere. Poetry will no longer be compared with poetry, nor historical treatise with historical treatise, nor constitution with constitution, nor law with law, general with general, king with king, life with life, tenet with tenet. And yet no reasonable man would acquiesce in this. But if you need also the proofs which personal testimonies supply, to render it more plain to you that the best mode of examination is the comparative, I will pass over all others and appeal to Plato himself as my witness. Desiring to exhibit his own proficiency in civil oratory, he was not satisfied with the rest of his writings, but [in rivalry with] the foremost orator of the time, himself composed in the *Phaedrus* another speech with Love as its subject. Nor after advancing so far did he pause and leave to his readers to decide which speech was the better, but he actually assailed the faults of Lysias, allowing that he had excellences of style, but attacking his treatment of subject-matter. Since, therefore, Plato when engaging in the most vulgar and most invidious of tasks, that

προελόμενος, αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων, οὐδὲν ᾤετο ποιεῖν κατηγορίας ἄξιον, εἰ παρὰ τὸν ἄριστον τῶν τότε ῥητόρων τοὺς ἰδίους ἐξετάζειν ἠξίου λόγους ἐπιδεικνύμενος Λυσίαν τε ἐν οἷς ἡμάρτηκεν καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἷς κατώρθωκε, τί θαυμαστὸν ἐποίουν ἐγὼ τοῖς Δημοσθένους λόγοις συγκρίνων τοὺς Πλάτωνος καὶ εἴ τι μὴ καλῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν | ᾠμην, ἐπιλογιζόμενος; ἐὼ γὰρ 756
τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ γραφὰς παραφέρειν, ἐν αἷς κωμῳδεῖ τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ, Παρμενίδην τε καὶ Ἱππίαν καὶ Πρωταγόραν καὶ Πρόδικον καὶ Γοργίαν καὶ Πῶλον καὶ Θεόδωρον καὶ Θρασύμαχον καὶ ἄλλους συχνούς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου πάντα περὶ αὐτῶν γράφων ἀλλ', εἰ βούλει, καὶ ἀπὸ φιλοτιμίας· ἦν γάρ, ἦν ἐν τῇ Πλάτωνος φύσει πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐχούσῃ τὸ φιλότιμον. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα διὰ τῆς πρὸς Ὅμηρον ζηλοτυπίας, ὃν ἐκ τῆς κατασκευαζομένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολιτείας ἐκβάλλει στεφανώσας καὶ μύρῳ χρίσας, ὡς δὴ τούτων αὐτῷ δέον ἐκβαλλομένῳ, δι' ὃν ἥ τε ἄλλη παιδεία πᾶσα παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τελευτῶσα <ἡ> φιλοσοφία. ἀλλὰ θῶμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου δι' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πάντα λέγειν [ἀληθῆ] Πλάτωνα· τί οὖν ἄτοπον ἐποιοῦμεν τοῖς ἐκείνου νόμοις χρώμενοι καὶ ἀντιπαρεξετάζειν αὐτῷ τοὺς τῶν ἐπακμασάντων λόγους βουλόμενοι;

| Ἔπειτ' οὐ μόνος οὐδὲ πρῶτος ἐγὼ φανήσομαι περὶ 757
Πλάτωνος ἐπιχειρήσας τι λέγειν. οὐδ' ἄν τις ἔχοι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μέμψασθαί με τὸ μέρος, ὅτι τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ πλείοσιν ἢ δώδεκα γενεαῖς ἐμαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἐξετάζειν ἐπεβαλόμην ὡς δὴ διὰ τοῦτο δόξης τινὸς τευξόμενος. πολλοὶ γὰρ εὑρεθήσονται πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῦτο πεποιηκότες, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐκείνου γενόμενοι

13 *ἐν*] Kruegerus, *μὲν* libri. 19 *ἡ* ante *φιλοσοφία* addidit Reiskius.
20 *ἀληθῆ* delevit Herwerdenus. 24 *οὐδὲ μόνος οὐδὲ* libri: corr. Herwerdenus.
28 inter *ἐξετάζειν* et *ἐπεβαλόμην* deest dimidia fere pars versus in M: hiatum non indicant Pal B s.

of praising himself in respect of his oratorical power, thought he was doing nothing blameworthy in claiming that his own speeches should be examined side by side with those of the best orator of the day, and in exhibiting the errors of Lysias and his own merits, what is there so astonishing in my comparison of the speeches of Plato with those of Demosthenes and my scrutiny of anything I found amiss in them? I forbear to quote from his writings generally, in which he attacks his predecessors, Parmenides, Hippias, Protagoras, Prodicus, Gorgias, Polus, Theodorus, Thrasymachus and many others, not writing of them in a spirit of perfect fairness, but (you must pardon me for saying so) with a touch of vainglory. There was, there really was in Plato's nature, with all its excellences, something of vainglory. He showed this particularly in his jealousy of Homer, whom he expels from his imaginary commonwealth, after crowning him with a garland and anointing him with myrrh[1]. Strange indeed to suppose that Homer needed such compliments in the hour of his expulsion, when it is through him that every refinement, and in the end philosophy itself, passed into human life! But let us suppose that Plato said all this in a spirit of perfect fairness and simply in the interest of truth. What, then, was there to excite surprise in our action when we obeyed his ordinances, and wished to compare the discourses of his successors with his own?

Furthermore, it will be seen that I am not the first and only critic that has ventured to speak his mind about Plato. Nor could anyone justly take me to task on the special ground that I essayed to examine the most distinguished of philosophers, and one more than a dozen generations earlier than myself, in the hope forsooth of obtaining some credit thereby. No, it will be found that many have done so before me, whether

[1] Cp. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 398 A.

χρόνον, οἱ δὲ λίαν ὕστερον ἐπακμάσαντες. καὶ γὰρ τὰ δόγματα διέβαλον αὐτοῦ τινες καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐμέμψαντο πρῶτον μὲν ὁ γνησιώτατος αὐτοῦ μαθητὴς Ἀριστοτέλης, ἔπειτα οἱ περὶ Κηφισόδωρόν τε καὶ Θεόπομπον καὶ Ζωΐλον καὶ Ἱπποδάμαντα καὶ Δημήτριον καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί, οὐ διὰ φθόνον ἢ διὰ φιλαπεχθημοσύνην κωμῳδοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξετάζοντες. τοσούτοις δὴ καὶ τηλικούτοις ἀνδράσι παραδείγμασι χρώμενος καὶ παρὰ πάντας τῷ μεγίστῳ Πλάτωνι οὐδὲν ἡγούμην τῆς φιλοσόφου ῥητορικῆς ποιεῖν ἀλλότριον ἀγαθοὺς ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξετάζων. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς προαιρέσεως, ἣν ἔσχον ἐν τῇ συγκρίσει τῶν χαρακτήρων, ἱκανῶς ἀπολελόγημαι καὶ σοί γε, ἡμῖν φίλτατε.

II

| Λοιπὸν δ' ἐστί μοι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ὧν εἴρηκα λόγων 758
περὶ τἀνδρὸς ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν πραγματείᾳ ῥητόρων εἰπεῖν. θήσω δὲ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν, ὡς ἐκεῖ γέγραφα· "Ἡ δὲ δὴ Πλατωνικὴ διάλεκτος βούλεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ αὐτὴ μῖγμα ἑκατέρου τῶν χαρακτήρων, τοῦ τε ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἰσχνοῦ, καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον· πέφυκε δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας εὐτυχής. ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀφελῆ καὶ ἀποίητον ἐπιτηδεύῃ φράσιν, ἐκτόπως ἡδεῖά ἐστι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. καθαρά τε γὰρ ἀποχρώντως γίνεται καὶ διαυγής, ὥσπερ τὰ διαφανέστατα τῶν ναμάτων, ἀκριβής τε καὶ λεπτὴ παρ' ἣντινουν ἑτέραν τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν διάλεκτον | εἰργασμένων. 759
τήν τε κοινότητα διώκει τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τὴν σαφήνειαν ἀσκεῖ πάσης ὑπεριδοῦσα κατασκευῆς ἐπιθέτου. ὅ τε

12 ἀπολελόγισμαι libri: corr. Reiskius. 17—p. 102, 4 = *de adm. vi dic. in Demosth.* (Δ) cc. v—vii, pp. 964—969 R. 18 μῖγμα (i.e. μεῖγμα) Δ: δεῖγμα libri. 22 ἡδεῖα] ἰδία Pal. 23 τε om. Δ. 24 ναμάτων Δs: σωμάτων M Pal B. 25 τὴν M Pal B: εἰς τὴν Δs. 27 ὑπεριδοῦσα DBs: ὑπεριδοῦσαν M Pal.

in his own time or at a much later date. For his tenets have met with disparagement and his discourses with criticism. First on the list is his most representative disciple Aristotle, and next Cephisodorus, Theopompus, Zoilus, Hippodamas, Demetrius, and many others. These did not attack him out of envy or malice, but in the search for truth. Encouraged accordingly by the example of so many eminent men, and above all of the great Plato himself, I considered that my action was in no way alien to the spirit of philosophic rhetoric when I matched good writers against good. As regards, therefore, the principle on which I acted in comparing style with style, I have defended myself sufficiently even in your eyes, my dear friend.

II

I have now to refer to my actual remarks on Plato in the treatise on the *Attic Orators*. I will quote the passage in the words there written[1]. 'The language of Plato, as I have said before, aspires to unite two several styles, the elevated and the plain. But it does not succeed equally in both. When it uses the plain, simple, and unartificial mode of expression, it has an extraordinary charm and attraction. It is altogether pure and translucent, like the most transparent of streams, and it is correct and precise beyond that of any other writer who has adopted this mode of expression. It pursues familiar words and cultivates clearness, disdaining all extraneous ornament. The gentle and imperceptible lapse

[1] *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.*, cc. v.—vii.

πίνος ὁ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος ἠρέμα αὐτῇ καὶ λεληθότως ἐπιτρέχει ἱλαρόν τέ τι καὶ τεθηλὸς καὶ μεστὸν ὥρας ἄνθος ἀναδίδωσι, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν εὐωδεστάτων λειμώνων αὔρα τις ἡδεῖα ἐξ αὐτῆς φέρεται, καὶ οὔτε τὸ λιγυρὸν ἔοικεν ἐμφαίνειν λάλον οὔτε τὸ κομψὸν θεατρικόν. ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὸ καλλιεπεῖν, ὃ πολλάκις εἴωθε ποιεῖν, ἄμετρον ὁρμὴν λάβῃ, πολλῷ χείρων ἑαυτῆς γίνεται· καὶ γὰρ ἀηδεστέρα καὶ κάκιον ἑλληνίζουσα καὶ παχυτέρα φαίνεται· μελαίνει τε τὸ σαφὲς καὶ ζόφῳ ποιεῖ παραπλήσιον, ἕλκει τε μακρὸν ἀποτείνουσα τὸν νοῦν, συστρέψαι δὲ δέον ἐν ὀλίγοις ὀνόμα|σιν ἐκχεῖται εἰς 760
ἀπειροκάλους περιφράσεις, πλοῦτον ὀνομάτων ἐπιδεικνυμένη, ὑπεριδοῦσα δὲ τῶν κυρίων ὀνομάτων κἀν τῇ κοινῇ χρήσει κειμένων τὰ πεποιημένα ζητεῖ καὶ ξένα καὶ ἀρχαιοπρεπῆ. μάλιστα δὲ χειμάζεται περὶ τὴν τροπικὴν φράσιν· πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, ἄκαιρος δ' ἐν ταῖς μετωνυμίαις, σκληρὰ δὲ καὶ οὐ σῴζουσα τὴν ἀναλογίαν ἐν ταῖς μεταφοραῖς γίνεται, ἀλληγορίας τε περιβάλλεται μακρὰς καὶ πολλὰς οὔτε μέτρον ἐχούσας οὔτε καιρόν. σχήμασί τε ποιητικοῖς ἐσχάτην προσβάλλουσιν ἀηδίαν καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς Γοργιείοις ἀκαίρως καὶ μειρακιωδῶς ἐναβρύνεται· καὶ 'πολὺς ὁ τελέτης ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις παρ' αὐτῷ,' ὡς καὶ Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς εἴρηκέ που καὶ ἄλλοι συχνοί· οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος.

Μηδεὶς δέ με ταῦτα ἡγείσθω λέγειν ἁπάσης καταγινώσκοντα τῆς ἐγκατασκεύου καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένης λέ|ξεως 761

1 αὐτῇ M Pal B: om. As. 2 ἱλαρόν M Pal B: χλοερόν As. 4 φέρεται As: εἰσφέρεται M Pal B. 6 καλλιεπεῖν Δ^m (i.e. codex M): κάλλιστον εἰπεῖν M Pal B κάλλιον εἰπεῖν Δ (volg.) s. 8 ἀηδεστέρα M Pal B: ἀηδεστέρα τῆς ἑτέρας As. κακίων MB. 9 τε Δ: τε γὰρ libri. 10 ἀποτείνασα Δ. 11 δὲ ante δέον om. Δ. χεῖται δ' εἰς Δ. 12, 13 ἐπιδεικνυμένη M Pal B: ἐπιδεικνυμένη κενόν As. 13 δὲ M Pal B: τε As | ὀνομάτων M Pal B: om. As | καὶ ἐν As καὶ M Pal B: corr. Herwerdenus. 16 γὰρ om. Δ | μετωνυμίαις Δ: ἐπωνυμίαις libri. 21 γοργείοις libri γοργίοις Δ: corr. Herwerdenus. 22 τελέτης] Us, πολὺς ὁ τελετὴς M Pal B πολυτέλειά τις Δ. ἐστὶν om. Δ. 24 συχνοὶ libri: συχνοὶ πρότερον Δ Sylburgius. 25 ταῦτα ἡγείσθω libri: τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπολάβῃ Δ.

of time invests it with a mellow tinge of antiquity; it still blooms in all its radiant vigour and beauty; a balmy breeze is wafted from it as though from meadows full of the most fragrant odours; and its clear utterance seems to show as little trace of loquacity as its elegance of display. But when, as often happens, it rushes without restraint into unusual phraseology and embellished diction, it deteriorates greatly. For it loses in charm, in purity of idiom, in lightness of touch. It obscures what is clear and makes it like unto darkness; it conveys the meaning in a prolix and circuitous way. When concise expression is needed, it lapses into tasteless periphrases, displaying a wealth of words. Contemning the regular terms found in common use, it seeks after those which are newly-coined, strange, or archaic. It is in the sea of figurative diction that it labours most of all. For it abounds in epithets and ill-timed metonymies. It is harsh and loses sight of the point of contact in its metaphors. It affects long and frequent allegories devoid of measure and fitness. It revels, with juvenile and unseasonable pride, in the most wearisome poetical figures, particularly in those of Gorgias; and "in matters of this kind there is a good deal of the hierophant about him[1]," as Demetrius of Phalerum has somewhere said as well as many others: for "not mine the word[2]."

'Let no one suppose that I say this in general condemnation of the ornate and uncommon style which Plato adopts.

[1] Demetrius Phaler., *fragm.*

[2] Eurip. *fragm.* 488 (Nauck, p. 46).

ᾗ κέχρηται Πλάτων (μὴ γὰρ οὕτω σκαιὸς γενοίμην ὥστε ταύτην τὴν δόξαν περὶ ἀνδρὸς τηλικούτου λαβεῖν), ἐπεὶ πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν οἶδα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας δυνάμεως ἐξενηνεγμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενον, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτήματα ἐν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς εἴωθεν ἁμαρτάνειν, καὶ χείρων <μὲν> αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ γίνεται, ὅταν τὸ μέγα διώκῃ καὶ περιττὸν ἐν τῇ φράσει, μακρῷ δέ τινι ἀμείνων, ὅταν τὴν ἰσχνὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ <καὶ> δοκοῦσαν μὲν ἀποίητον εἶναι κατεσκευασμένην δὲ ἀμωμήτῳ καὶ ἀφελεῖ κατασκευῇ διάλεκτον εἰσφέρῃ· ἢ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἁμαρτάνει ἢ κομιδῇ βραχύ τι καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον κατηγορίας. ἐγὼ δὲ ἠξίουν τηλικοῦτον ἄνδρα πεφυλάχθαι πᾶσαν ἐπιτίμησιν. ταὐτὰ γὰρ οἵ τε κατ' αὐτὸν γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπιτιμῶσιν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δεῖ με λέγειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ (τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ λαμπρότατον)· ἤσθετο γὰρ | τῆς ἰδίας ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ὄνομα ἔθετ' αὐτῇ 762
τὸ διθύραμβον· ὃ νῦν ἂν ἡδέσθην ἐγὼ λέγειν ἀληθὲς ὄν. τοῦτο δὲ παθεῖν ἔοικεν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τραφεὶς μὲν ἐν τοῖς Σωκρατικοῖς διαλόγοις ἰσχνοτάτοις οὖσι καὶ ἀκριβεστάτοις, οὐ μείνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ τῆς Γοργίου καὶ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευῆς ἐρασθείς· ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ εἰκότος ἔμελλεν πείσεσθαι σπάσας τινὰ καὶ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἅμα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὧν ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων χαρακτῆρες.

Παραδείγματα δὲ τῆς ἰσχνῆς καὶ τῆς ὑψηλῆς λέξεως

1 Πλάτων Δs: πλάτων τῆς τοιαύτης φράσεως M Pal B. 2 περὶ] ὑπὲρ Δ. 3 καὶ ante περὶ om. Δ. 5 βουλόμενον M Reiskius: βουλόμενος Pal BΔs | τὰ om. Δ. 6 μὲν Δs: om. M Pal B. 7 αὐτοῦ Bs: αὑτοῦ M Pal. 9 καὶ ante δοκοῦσαν Δs: om. M Pal B. 10 ἀμωμήτῳ Pal s: ἀμωκήτῳ MB ἀμωμήτως Δ. 11 ἢ κομιδῇ βραχύ τι M Pal B: καθάπαξ ἢ βραχύ τι κομιδῇ Δs. 13 ταὐτὰ] Us, ταῦτα libri. γὰρ οἵ τε] μέντοι καὶ οἱ Δ. 14 πάντες] ὡς ἁμαρτάνοντι τῷ ἀνδρὶ Δ. 14, 15 οὐδὲν δεῖ] οὐθὲν δέομαι Δ. γὰρ M Pal B: γὰρ δὴ Δs. 16 γὰρ M Pal B: γὰρ ὡς ἔοικεν Δs. 17 τὸ M Pal B: τὸν Δs. 18 ὡς] ὡς μὲν Δ. 20 οὐθὲν Δ. 25 παραδείγματα M Pal B: παράδειγμα Δs | τῆς ἰσχνῆς καὶ (τῆς addit Pal) ὑψηλῆς M Pal B: ποιοῦμαι τῆς γε ὑψηλῆς Δs.

I should be sorry to be so perverse as to conceive this opinion with respect to so great a man. On the contrary, I am well aware that often and on many subjects he has produced writings which are great and admirable and of the utmost power. What I desire to show is that he is apt to commit errors of this description in his more ornate passages, and that he sinks below his own level when he pursues what is grand and exceptional in expression, and is far superior when he employs the language which is plain and exact and seems to be natural but is really elaborated with unoffending and simple artifice. For then he commits either no errors at all or only such as are extremely slight and venial. My own view, however, is that so great a man should have been perpetually on his guard against any censure. Now all his contemporaries, whose names I need not recall, reproach him with the same fault; and the most striking thing is that he does so himself. He was aware of his own lapse from good taste and gave it the name of "dithyramb[1]": a thing I had thought shame to say, true though it be. This trait in him appears to me to be due to the fact that, although he was bred among the Socratic dialogues, which were most spare and most exact, he did not continue under their influence, but became enamoured of the artificiality of Gorgias and Thucydides. It was, therefore, no unnatural result that he should imbibe some of the errors, together with the good points, exhibited by the styles of those authors.

'I will cite examples of the plain and the elevated style

[1] Plat. *Phaedr.* 238 D (cp. 241 E).

ἐξ ἑνὸς βυβλίου τῶν πάνυ περιβοήτων παραθήσομαι, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς ἐρωτικοὺς ὁ Σωκράτης διατέθειται λόγους πρὸς ἕνα τῶν γνωρίμων Φαῖδρον, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἴληφε τὸ βυβλίον.....Ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ μὲν πραγματικὸν 764
οὐδαμῇ μέμφομαι τοῦ ἀνδρός, τοῦ δὲ λεκτικοῦ μέρους τὸ περὶ τὴν τροπικήν τε καὶ διθυραμβικὴν φράσιν ἐκπίπτον, ἐν οἷς οὐ κρατεῖ τοῦ μετρίου, ἐπιτιμῶ τε οὐχ ὡς τῶν τυχόντων τῷ ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐγγὺς τῆς θείας ἐληλυθότι φύσεως, ὅτι τὸν ὄγκον τῆς ποιητικῆς κατασκευῆς εἰς λόγους ἤγαγε φιλοσόφους ζηλώσας τοὺς περὶ Γοργίαν, ὥστε καὶ διθυράμβοις τινὰ ποιεῖν ἐοικότα, καὶ μηδὲ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἀμάρτημα ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖν. 765
καὶ σύ γε αὐτός, ὦ βέλτιστε Γεμῖνε, ὁμοίαν ἐμοὶ γνώμην περὶ τἀνδρὸς ἔχων φαίνει δι' αὐτῆς γέ τοι τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἐν οἷς κατὰ λέξιν οὕτω γράφεις· 'ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἑτέροις σχήμασι ῥᾴδιον πεσεῖν μέσον τι ἐπαίνου καὶ μέμψεως· ἐν δὲ τῇ κατασκευῇ τὸ μὴ ἐπιτευχθὲν πάντῃ ἀποτυγχάνεται. · διό μοι δοκεῖ τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπικινδυνοτάτων οὐδὲ ἐλασσόνων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλείστων καὶ εὐτυχηθέντων ἐξετάζειν.' καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα πάλιν ἐπιλέγεις ταυτί· 'ἐγὼ δὲ καίπερ ἔχων ἀπολογήσασθαι ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ἢ τῶν γε πλείστων οὐ τολμῶ σοι ἐναντία λέγειν· ἓν δὲ τοῦτο διισχυρίζομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μεγάλως ἐπιτυχεῖν ἐν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ μὴ τοιαῦτα τολμῶντα καὶ παραβαλλόμενον, ἐν οἷς καὶ σφάλλεσθαί ἐστιν ἀναγκαῖον.' Οὐδὲν διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους· σύ τε γὰρ ὁμολογεῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸν ἐπιβαλλόμενον μεγάλοις καὶ σφάλλεσθαί ποτε, ἐγώ τέ φημι τῆς ὑψηλῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς καὶ

1 *βιβλίου* libri | *παραθήσομαι*] *ποιήσομαι* M Pal B: om As. 2 *ὁ Σωκράτης* post *λόγους* traicit As | *διατέθειται* M Pal B: *διατίθεται* As. 4 *βιβλίον* libri | verba complura hic excidisse manifestum est: cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. vii. 5 *τοῦ δὲ λεκτικοῦ μέρους*] Us, *τῆς δὲ λέξεώς τι μόριον* libri. 9 *ὅτι* s: *ὅ τε* M Pal B. 10 *εἰς* Kruegero auctore Herwerdenus: *καὶ* libri, *ἐπὶ* Sylburgius. 13 *γεμῖνε* MB¹: *γναῖε* Pal s mg B | *ὁμοίαν* B. 19 *ἐπικινδυνωτάτων* libri. 21 *ἀπολογίσασθαι* M Pal. 23 *μεγάλως* M Pal² B *μεγάλας* Pal¹: *μεγάλων* s.

from one of the most celebrated books, in which Socrates has addressed the discourses on Love to one of his associates, Phaedrus, from whom the book takes its title....'

In this passage I blame in no way the subject-matter of the writer, but the tendency in the department of expression to figurative and dithyrambic diction, matters wherein Plato loses command of the due mean. And I criticise him not as an ordinary mortal but as a great man who has come near the standard of the divine nature. His fault is that, in imitation of the school of Gorgias, he has introduced the pomp of poetical artifice into philosophical discourses, so that some of his productions are of the dithyrambic order. And what is more, he does not even attempt to hide this failing but avows it. It is clear from your own letter, excellent Geminus, that you yourself entertain the same opinion as I with regard to him. For you write thus, to quote your own words: 'In other forms of expression there may well occur something which deserves mingled praise and blame. But in embellishment whatever is not success is utter failure. So that, in my opinion, these men should be judged not by their few most hazardous attempts but by their many successes[1].' And a little later you add the following words: 'Although I could defend all, or at any rate most, of these passages, I do not venture to gainsay you. But this one thing I strongly affirm, that it is not possible to succeed greatly in any way without such daring and recklessness as must needs fail now and then[2].' There is no quarrel between us. *You* admit that the man who aspires to great things must sometimes fail, while *I* say that Plato,

[1] Cn. Pompei *fragm.*

[2] Cn. Pompei *fragm.*

παρακεκινδυνευμένης φράσεως ἐφιέμενον Πλάτωνα μὴ περὶ πάντα τὰ μέρη κατορθοῦν, πολλο|στὴν μέντοι μοῖραν 766
ἔχειν τῶν κατορθουμένων τὰ διαμαρτανόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ καθ' ἓν τοῦτο Πλάτωνά φημι λείπεσθαι Δημοσθένους,
5 ὅτι παρ' ᾧ μὲν ἐκπίπτει ποτὲ τὸ ὕψος τῆς λέξεως [τῶν λόγων] εἰς τὸ κενὸν καὶ ἀηδές, παρ' ᾧ δὲ οὐδέποτε ἢ σπανίως γε κομιδῇ. καὶ περὶ μὲν Πλάτωνος τοσαῦτα.

III

Περὶ δὲ Ἡροδότου καὶ Ξενοφῶντος ἐβουλήθης μαθεῖν, τίνα περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπόληψιν ἔχω, καὶ γράψαι με περὶ αὐτῶν
10 ἐβουλήθης. πεποίηκα [καὶ] τοῦτο οἷς <πρὸς> Δημήτριον ὑπεμνημάτισμαι περὶ μιμήσεως. τούτων ὁ μὲν πρῶτος αὐτὴν περιείληφε τὴν περὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ζήτησιν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος περὶ τοῦ τίνας ἄνδρας μιμεῖσθαι δεῖ ποιητάς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους, ἱστοριογράφους <τε> καὶ ῥήτορας.
15 | ὁ δὲ τρίτος περὶ τοῦ πῶς δεῖ μιμεῖσθαι μέχρι τοῦδε 767
ἀτελής. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἡροδότου τε καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ Φιλίστου καὶ Θεοπόμπου (τούτους γὰρ ἐκκρίνω τοὺς ἄνδρας <ὡς> εἰς μίμησιν ἐπιτηδειοτάτους) τάδε γράφω·

20 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν, περὶ μὲν Ἡροδότου καὶ Θουκυδίδου ταῦτα φρονῶ. πρῶτόν τε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν πάσας ἱστορίας ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξασθαι καλὴν καὶ κεχαρισμένην τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις. τοῦτο Ἡρόδοτος κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ
25 πεποιηκέναι Θουκυδίδου. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ κοινὴν Ἑλλη-

5, 6 aut *τῆς λέξεως* aut *τῶν λόγων* expellendum. 6 *κενὸν* MB¹ *καινὸν* Pal B²s | *ἀληθὲς* M Pal B *ἀηθὲς* s: corr. Holwellus. 10 *καὶ* seclusit Usenerus ex antecedente syllaba natum esse ratus. 10, 11 *οἷς πρὸς Δημήτριον ὑπεμνημάτισμαι*] Us, *εἰς Δημήτριον ὑπομνημάτισμον* libri. 12 *ζητήσεως μίμησιν* libri: corr. Sylburgius. 15 *μέχρι τοῦδε*] Us, *περὶ τούτου δὲ* libri. 18 *ἐκκρίνων* libri | *ὡς* supplevit Reiskius. 21 *πρῶτόν τε*] Us, *πρῶτον ὅτι* libri.

in his desire for elevated and stately and audacious diction, did not succeed in every detail, but that his mistakes are nevertheless only a small fraction of his successes. And in this one respect, I say, Plato is inferior to Demosthenes, that with him elevation of diction sometimes lapses into emptiness and dreariness, whereas with Demosthenes this is never so, or only very rarely. This is what I have to say with reference to Plato.

III

You wished also to learn my view with regard to Herodotus and Xenophon, and you wished me to write about them. This I have done in the essays I have addressed to Demetrius on the subject of imitation. The first of these contains an abstract inquiry into the nature of imitation. The second asks what particular poets and philosophers, historians and orators, should be imitated. The third, which treats of the proper manner of imitation, remains unfinished. In the second I write as follows concerning Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Philistus and Theopompus, these being the writers whom I select as most suitable for imitation:

These are my opinions concerning Herodotus and Thucydides, if I must extend my remarks to them. The first, and one may say the most necessary, task for writers of any kind of history is to choose a noble subject and one pleasing to their readers. In this Herodotus seems to me to have succeeded better than Thucydides. He has produced

νικῶν τε καὶ βαρβαρικῶν πράξεων ἐξενήνοχεν ἱστορίαν, 'ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα,' καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε. τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ προοίμιον καὶ ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ἐστὶ τῆς ἱστορίας. ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης πόλεμον ἕνα γράφει, καὶ τοῦτον | οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε εὐτυχῆ· 768
ὃς μάλιστα μὲν ὤφειλε μὴ γενέσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, σιωπῇ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων ἠγνοῆσθαι. ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἴληφεν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερὸν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ· πόλεις τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ἐξερημωθῆναί φησι πολλὰς Ἑλληνίδας, τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ φυγαδείας καὶ φθόρους ἀνθρώπων ὅσους οὔπω πρότερον γενέσθαι, σεισμούς τε καὶ αὐχμοὺς καὶ νόσους καὶ ἄλλας πολλὰς συμφοράς. ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἡλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληνικῶν μέλλοντας ἀκούειν. ὅσῳ δὲ κρείττων ἡ τὰ θαυμαστὰ ἔργα δηλοῦσα Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων γραφὴ τῆς τὰ οἰκτρὰ καὶ δεινὰ πάθη τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαγγελλούσης, τοσούτῳ φρονιμώτερος Ἡρόδοτος Θουκυδίδου κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δι' ἀνάγκην ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, ἐπιστάμενος <μὲν ὡς> ἐκεῖνα καλλίω, βουλόμενος | δὲ μὴ ταὐτὰ ἑτέροις 769
γράφειν· πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ διασύρων τὰ παλαιὰ ἔργα μάλιστα θαυμασιώτατα τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐπιτελεσθέντα φησὶν εἶναι, καὶ φανερός ἐστι ταῦτα ἑκὼν ἑλόμενος. οὐ μὴν Ἡρόδοτός γε τοῦτο ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ συγγραφέων γενομένων Ἑλλανίκου τε καὶ Χάρωνος τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν προεκδεδωκότων οὐκ ἀπετράπετο, ἀλλ' ἐπίστευσεν αὐτῷ κρεῖσσόν τι ἐξοίσειν· ὅπερ καὶ πεποίηκεν.

1 *βαρβαρικῶν*] Schaeferus, *βαρβάρων* libri. 3 *προοιμίων τε καὶ* libri. 8 *γε* s: *τε* MB Pal. 11 *φυγαδείας*] Us, *φυγάδας* M Pal B *φυγὰς* s. 21, 22 *μὲν ὡς* post *-μενος* inseruit Usenerus. 24 *μάλιστα*] *μάλιστα καὶ* libri. 28 *χαίρωνος* libri: corr. Stephanus. 29 *αὐτῷ* M *αὐτῶν* B Pal s: corr. Herwerdenus.

a national history of the conflict of Greeks and barbarians, 'in order that neither should the deeds of men fade into oblivion, nor should achievements[1],' to quote from his opening words. For this same proem forms both the beginning and the end of his History. Thucydides, on the other hand, writes of a single war, and that neither glorious nor fortunate; one which, best of all, should not have happened, or (failing that) should have been ignored by posterity and consigned to silence and oblivion. In his Introduction he makes it clear himself that he has chosen a bad subject, for he says that many cities of the Greeks were desolated because of the war, partly by the barbarians and partly by themselves, while proscriptions and massacres greater than any before known occurred, together with earthquakes and droughts and plagues and many other calamities[2]. The natural consequence is that readers of the Introduction feel an aversion to the subject, for it is of the misfortunes of Greece that they are about to hear. As clearly as the story of the wonderful deeds of Greeks and barbarians is superior to the story of the sad and terrible disasters of the Greeks, so clearly does Herodotus show better judgment than Thucydides in his choice of subject. Nor can it truthfully be said that Thucydides was driven, with full knowledge that the earlier events were grander, into this piece of writing by a desire not to treat of the same theme as others. On the contrary, he makes extremely light in his Introduction of the events of ancient days, and says that the achievements of his own time were the most remarkable. It is clear, therefore, that his choice was deliberate. Very different was the course taken by Herodotus. Although his predecessors, Hellanicus and Charon, had previously issued works on the same subject, he was not deterred, but trusted his own ability to produce something better. And this in fact he has done.

[1] Herod. I. 1. [2] Thucyd. I. 23.

Δεύτερόν ἐστι τῆς ἱστορικῆς πραγματείας ἔργον γνῶναι πόθεν τε ἄρξασθαι καὶ μέχρι τοῦ προελθεῖν δεῖ. φαίνεται δὴ κἀν τούτῳ Θουκυδίδου πολὺ Ἡρόδοτος φρονιμώτερος· ἄρχεταί τε ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἤρξαντο πρῶτον κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ προελθὼν εἰς τὴν <τῶν> βαρβάρων κόλασιν καὶ τιμωρίαν λήγει. ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης ἀρχὴν μὲν ἐποιήσατο ἀφ' ἧς ἦρ|ξατ' οὐ καλῶς πράττειν 770
τὸ Ἑλληνικόν· ὅπερ Ἕλληνα ὄντα καὶ Ἀθηναῖον οὐκ ἔδει ποιεῖν (καὶ ταῦτα οὐ τῶν ἀπερριμμένων ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὧν ἐν πρώτοις ἦγον Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγιῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τιμῶν ἀξιοῦντες)· καὶ οὕτω γε φθονερῶς, ὥστε καὶ τῇ πόλει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τὰς φανερὰς αἰτίας τοῦ πόλεμου περιάπτειν, ἑτέραις ἔχοντα πολλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς περιάψαι τὰς αἰτίας, καὶ ἄρξασθαί γε τῆς διηγήσεως μὴ ἀπὸ τῶν Κερκυραϊκῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν κρατίστων τῆς πατρίδος ἔργων, ἃ μετὰ τὸν Περσικὸν πόλεμον εὐθὺς ἔπραξεν (ὧν ὕστερον κἀν ἀνεπιτηδείῳ τόπῳ μνήμην ἐποιήσατο φαύλως πως καὶ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς), διελθόντα δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς εὐνοίας ὡς ἄνδρα φιλόπολιν ἔπειτ' ἐπενεγκεῖν, ὅτι τούτων φθόνῳ καὶ δέει προελθόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι προφάσεις ὑποθέντες ἑτεροίας ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ τότε λέγειν τὰ Κερκυραϊκὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα καὶ εἴ | τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτο λέγειν ἐβούλετο. τὰ δ' 771
ἐν τέλει πλείονος ἁμαρτίας πλήρη· καίπερ γὰρ λέγων ὅτι παντὶ τῷ πολέμῳ παρεγένετο, καὶ πάντα δηλώσειν ὑποσχόμενος, εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τελευτᾷ τὴν περὶ Κνιδου σῆμα γεγενημένην Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων, ἣ συνέβη κατὰ ἔτος εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεύτερον. κρεῖττον δὲ ἦν διεξελθόντα πάντα τελευτὴν ποιήσασθαι τῆς ἱστορίας

5 τῶν supplevit Herwerdenus. 7 ἤρξατ' οὐ] Us, ἤρξατο libri.
9 ἀπερριμμένων Holwellus, ἔτι εἰρημένων libri. 11 φθονερῶς] Herwerdenus, φανερῶς libri. 17 κἀν ἀνεπιτηδείῳ] Kruegerus, καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ libri.
21 ἑτεροίας] Us, ἑτέροις M Pal B s | γρ. ἑτέρας Stephanus p. 77. 23, 24 τὰ δ' ἐν τέλει] Us, τὰ δὲ τέλη libri.

A second function of historical investigation is to determine where to begin and how far to proceed. In this respect, again, Herodotus displays far better judgment than Thucydides. He begins with the cause of the original injuries done to the Greeks by the barbarians, and goes on his way till he ends with the punishment and retribution which befell them. Thucydides, on the contrary, starts with the incipient decline of the Greek world. This should not have been done by a Greek and an Athenian, and (what is more) no unappreciated citizen but one to whom his countrymen assigned a foremost place, entrusting him with commands and offices generally. In his malice, he finds the overt causes of the war in the conduct of his own city, although he might have found many other grounds for the outbreak. He might have begun his narrative not with the affairs of Corcyra, but with the magnificent achievements of his country immediately after the Persian War, achievements which subsequently he mentions at the wrong point and in a perfunctory and cursory way. After he had described these events with all the enthusiasm of a patriot, he should then have added that it was through envy and dread thus occasioned that the Lacedaemonians were led to engage in the war, for which they suggested motives of a different nature. He should next have related the occurrences at Corcyra and the decree against the Megarians, together with anything else of the kind he wished to mention. The conclusion of his work is tainted by a more serious error. Although he states that he watched the entire course of the war and promises a complete account of it, yet he ends with the sea-fight which took place off Cynossema between the Athenians and Peloponnesians in the twenty-second year of the war. It would have been better, after he had described all the details of the war, to end his History with a most remark-

τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἀκούουσι κεχαρισμένην, τὴν κάθοδον τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκομίσατο.

Τρίτον ἐστὶν ἀνδρὸς ἱστορικοῦ <σκοπεῖν>, τίνα τε δεῖ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γραφὴν πράγματα καὶ τίνα παραλιπεῖν. δοκεῖ δή μοι κἀν τούτῳ λείπεσθαι Θουκυδίδης. συνειδὼς γὰρ Ἡρόδοτος, ὅτι πᾶσα μῆκος ἔχουσα πολὺ διήγησις ἂν μὲν ἀναπαύσεις τινὰς λαμβάνῃ, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκροωμένων ἡδέως διατίθησιν, ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν | αὐτῶν μένῃ 772
πραγμάτων, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιτυγχάνηται, λυπεῖ τὴν ἀκοὴν τῷ κόρῳ, ποικίλην ἐβουλήθη ποιῆσαι τὴν γραφὴν Ὁμήρου ζηλωτὴς γενόμενος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ βυβλίον ἣν αὐτοῦ λάβωμεν, μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης συλλαβῆς ἀγάμεθα καὶ ἀεὶ τὸ πλέον ἐπιζητοῦμεν. Θουκυδίδης δὲ πόλεμον ἕνα κατατείνας ἀπνευστὶ διεξέρχεται μάχας ἐπὶ μάχαις καὶ παρασκευὰς ἐπὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ λόγους ἐπὶ λόγοις συντιθείς· ὥστε μοχθεῖν μὲν τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ἀκροωμένων. 'κόρον δ' ἔχει' φησὶν ὁ Πίνδαρος 'καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' ἄνθε' ἀφροδίσια.' ἤδη <δ' ὅ> λέγω κἀκεῖνος ἐνεθυμήθη, ὡς ἡδὺ χρῆμα ἐν ἱστορίας γραφῇ μεταβολὴ καὶ ποικίλον, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν δύο ἢ τρισὶ τόποις ἐποίησεν, ἐπί τε τῆς Ὀδρυσῶν ἀρχῆς, δι' ἃς αἰτίας ἐγένετο μεγάλη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεων.

| Μετὰ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐστὶν ἱστορικοῦ διελέσθαι τε καὶ 773
τάξαι τῶν δηλουμένων ἕκαστον ἐν ᾧ δεῖ τόπῳ. πῶς οὖν ἑκάτερος διαιρεῖται καὶ τάττει τὰ λεγόμενα; Θουκυδίδης μὲν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀκολουθῶν, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ταῖς περιοχαῖς τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ γίνεται Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀσαφὴς καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητος· πολλῶν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα γινομένων ἐν διαφόροις ὡς εἰκὸς τόποις, ἡμιτελεῖς τὰς πρώτας πράξεις καταλιπὼν ἑτέρων ἅπτεται

4 σκοπεῖν supplevit Reiskius. 7 ἔχουσα πολὺ] Herwerdenus, ἔχουσα ἀπὸ λόγου libri. 15 κατατείνας] Us, καί τινας libri. 19 δ' ὅ λέγω κἀκεῖνος ἐνεθυμήθη] Us, δὲ ἐγὼ κἀκεῖνο ἐνεθυμήθην libri.

able incident and one right pleasing to his hearers, the return of the exiles from Phyle, from which event dates the recovery of freedom by Athens.

A third task of the historian is to consider which occurrences he should embody in his work and which he should omit. In this respect, again, it seems to me that Thucydides is inferior. Herodotus, on his part, wished, in imitation of Homer, to give variety to his History. He was aware that every prolonged narrative affects the mind of the hearer pleasantly if it contains a number of pauses, but wearies and satiates (however successful it may otherwise be) if confined to one and the same series of events. If we take up his book, we are filled with admiration till the last syllable and always seek for more. Thucydides, on the other hand, in breathless haste and straining every nerve, describes a single war, heaping battle on battle, armament on armament, word on word. The hearer's mind is in consequence exhausted. 'Even honey,' as Pindar says, 'and the pleasant flowers of love bring satiety[1].' Occasionally Thucydides has himself realised the truth of my contention that, in a historical writing, change is pleasant and gives variety, and he has taken this course in two or three passages—in inquiring into the cause of the growth of the Odrysian kingdom and in describing the cities of Sicily[2].

Next it is the function of a historian so to arrange his materials that everything shall be found in its proper place. How, then, do these authors respectively arrange and divide what they have to say? Thucydides keeps close to the chronological order, Herodotus to the natural grouping of events. Thucydides is found to be obscure and hard to follow. As naturally many events occur in different places in the course of the same summer or winter, he leaves half-finished his

[1] Pind. *Nem.* VII. 52. [2] Cp. Thucyd. II. 97, VI. 2—5.

[τῶν κατὰ θέρος ἢ τὸν αὐτὸν χειμῶνα γινομένων]· πλανώμεθα δὴ καθάπερ εἰκός, καὶ δυσκόλως τοῖς δηλουμένοις παρακολουθοῦμεν ταραττομένης τῆς διανοίας. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λυδῶν βασιλείας ἀρξάμενος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Κροίσου καταβὰς ἐπὶ Κῦρον εὐθέως τὸν καταλύσαντα τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν μεταβαίνει, Αἰγυπτίων τε ἄρχεται διηγημάτων καὶ Σκυθικῶν καὶ Λιβυκῶν, τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀκόλουθα δηλῶν, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπιζητούμενα προσαναλαμβάνων, τὰ δ' ὡς χαριεστέραν ποιήσοντα τὴν διήγησιν ἐπεισάγων· διεξελθών τε πράξεις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἔτεσιν
| ὁμοῦ διακοσίοις καὶ εἴκοσι γενομένας ἐν ταῖς τρισὶν 774
ἠπείροις καὶ παραγράψας τῆς Ξέρξου φυγῆς τὴν ἱστορίαν οὐ διέσπασε τὴν διήγησιν· ἀλλὰ συμβέβηκε τῷ μὲν μίαν ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντι πολλὰ ποιῆσαι μέρη τὸ ἓν σῶμα, τῷ δὲ τὰς πολλὰς καὶ οὐδὲν ἐοικυίας ὑποθέσεις προελομένῳ σύμφωνον ἓν σῶμα πεποιηκέναι.

Μιᾶς δ' ἰδέας ἐπιμνησθήσομαι πραγματικῆς, ἣν οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἧττον ἐν ἁπάσαις ἱστορίαις ζητοῦμεν, τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως διάθεσιν, ᾗ κέχρηται πρὸς τὰ πράγματα περὶ ὧν γράφει· ἡ μὲν Ἡροδότου διάθεσις ἐν ἅπασιν ἐπιεικὴς καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς συνηδομένη, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς συναλγοῦσα· ἡ δὲ Θουκυδίδου διάθεσις αὐθέκαστός τις καὶ πικρὰ καὶ τῇ πατρίδι τῆς φυγῆς μνησικακοῦσα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἁμαρτήματα ἐπεξέρχεται καὶ μάλα ἀκριβῶς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ νοῦν κεχωρηκότων <ἢ> καθάπαξ οὐ μέμνηται, ἢ ὥσπερ ἠναγκασμένος.

. | Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον ἥττων ἐστὶν 775
Ἡροδότου διὰ ταῦτα Θουκυδίδης· κατὰ δὲ τὸν λεκτικὸν τὰ μὲν ἥττων, τὰ δὲ κρείττων, τὰ δ' ἴσος. ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὡς ὑπείληφα.

1 τῶν.....γινομένων: emblema, ut videtur. 6 μεταβαίνει.....7 διηγημάτων omissa addit mg M¹. 8 ἐπιζητούμενα πρὸς ἀναλαμβάνων. τὰ δ' ὡς M: om. Pal B s. 25 ἢ ante καθάπαξ addidit Herwerdenus. 26 ἠναγκασμένος] Reiskius, ἠναγκασμένως libri. 27 τόπον] τοῦτον libri.

account of one set of affairs and takes other events in hand. Naturally we are puzzled, and follow the narrative impatiently, as our attention is distracted. Herodotus, on the other hand, begins with the dominion of the Lydians and comes down to that of Croesus, and then passes at once to Cyrus who destroyed the empire of Croesus[1]. Then he begins the story of Egypt, Scythia, and Libya[2]. He relates some of the events as a sequel, takes up others as a missing link, and introduces others as likely to add to the charm of the narrative. Although he recounts affairs of Greeks and barbarians which occurred in the course of some two hundred and twenty years on the three continents and finally reaches the story of the flight of Xerxes, he does not break the continuity of the narrative. The general result is that, whereas Thucydides takes a single subject and divides one whole into many members, Herodotus has chosen a number of subjects, which are in no way alike, and has produced one harmonious whole.

I will mention one other feature of the treatment of subject-matter, a feature which in all histories we look for no less than for any of those already mentioned. I mean the attitude which the historian himself adopts towards the events which he describes. The attitude of Herodotus is fair throughout, showing pleasure in the good and grief at the bad. That of Thucydides, on the contrary, is severe and harsh and proves that he bears a grudge against his country because of his exile. For he details her misdeeds with the utmost exactitude, but when things go right, either he does not mention them at all, or only like a man under compulsion.

In subject-matter Thucydides is for these reasons inferior to Herodotus; in expression he is partly inferior, partly superior, partly equal. I will state my views on these points also.

[1] Herod. I. [2] Herod. II., IV.

Πρώτη τῶν ἀρετῶν γένοιτ' ἄν, ἧς χωρὶς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὄφελός τι, ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σῴζουσα διάλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι· Ἡρόδοτός τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἄριστος κανὼν Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀτθίδος. * * τρίτην ἔχει χώραν ἡ καλουμένη συντομία· ἐν ταύτῃ δοκεῖ προέχειν Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης. καίτοι λέγοι τις ἄν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ σαφοῦς ἐξεταζόμενον ἡδὺ φαίνεται τὸ βραχύ· εἰ δὲ ἀπολείποιτο τούτου, πικρόν· ἀλλὰ | μηδὲν <ἧττων> 776 ἔστω παρὰ τοῦτο. ἐνάργεια μετὰ ταῦτα τέτακται πρώτη μὲν τῶν ἐπιθέτων ἀρετῶν· ἱκανῶς ἐν ταύτῃ κατορθοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι. μετὰ ταύτην συνίσταται τὴν ἀρετὴν [τῶν] ἠθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις· διῄρηνται τὴν ἀρετὴν ταύτην οἱ συγγραφεῖς· Θουκυδίδης μὲν γὰρ τὰ πάθη δηλῶσαι κρείττων, Ἡρόδοτος δὲ τά γε ἤθη παραστῆσαι δεινότερος. μετὰ ταῦτα αἱ τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐκφαίνουσαι τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρεταί· ἴσοι κἀν ταύταις οἱ συγγραφεῖς. ἔπονται ταύταις αἱ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους δυνάμεις τῆς φράσεως ἀρεταὶ περιέχουσαι· κρείττων ἐν ταύταις Ἡροδότου Θουκυδίδης. ἡδονὴν δὲ καὶ πειθὼ καὶ τέρψιν καὶ τὰς ὁμοιογενεῖς ἀρετὰς εἰσφέρεται μακρῷ Θουκυδίδου κρείττονας Ἡρόδοτος. τῆς <δὲ> φράσεως [τῶν ὀνομάτων] τὸ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν Ἡρόδοτος ἐζήλωκε, τὸ δὲ δεινὸν Θουκυδίδης. πασῶν ἐν λόγοις ἀρετῶν ἡ κυριωτάτη τὸ πρέπον· ταύτην ὁ Ἡρόδοτος ἀκριβοῖ μᾶλλον ἢ Θουκυδίδης· ὁμοειδὴς γὰρ οὗτος ἐν πᾶσι, κἀν ταῖς δημηγορίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς | διηγήσεσιν· 777 ἐμοὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ φιλτάτῳ Καικιλίῳ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα αὐτοῦ μάλιστα <μιμήσασθαί> τε καὶ ζηλῶσαι Δημο-

1 *οὐδὲ*] Us, *οὐδὲν* libri. 2 *ὄφελός τι* M² *ὄφελός τις* M¹ Pal B. 5 lacunam perspexit Sylburgius. 9 *ἧττων* supplevit Kruegerus. 11 *μὲν*] Us, *μετὰ* libri. 12 *τῶν* seclusit Usenerus. 15 *γε* s, *τε* M Pal B. 22 *δὲ* s: om. M Pal B. 23 *τῶν ὀνομάτων* delevit Reiskius. 24 *ὁμοειδὴς* post *Θουκυδίδης* praebent libri ex v. 26 ut videtur perperam petitum | *πασῶν*] Burckhardtius, *πᾶς ὢν* libri. 29 *μάλιστα μιμήσασθαί τε*] Sauppius, *μάλιστά γε* libri.

The first of excellences is that without which style is of no worth in any of its aspects,—language pure in vocabulary and true to Greek idiom. In this respect both are correct writers. Herodotus represents the highest standard of the Ionic dialect, Thucydides of the Attic....Third in order comes the so-called 'concision.' In this Thucydides is commonly held to excel Herodotus. It might, indeed, be objected that it is only when united with clearness that brevity is found to be attractive; if it fails in this, it is harsh. However, let us suppose that Thucydides is in no way inferior because of his obscurity. Vividness comes next in order as the first of the extraneous excellences. In this respect both authors are decidedly successful. After this excellence the imitation of traits of character, and of emotions, presents itself. Here the historians divide the credit, for Thucydides excels in expressing the emotions, whilst Herodotus has greater skill in representing aspects of character. Next come the excellences which exhibit loftiness and grandeur of composition. Here, again, the historians are on a par. Then come the excellences which comprise strength and energy and similar qualities of style. In these Thucydides is superior to Herodotus. But in grace, persuasiveness, charm and the like excellences, Herodotus is far superior to Thucydides. In his choice of language Herodotus aims at naturalness, Thucydides at intensity. Of all literary virtues the most important is propriety. In this Herodotus is more careful than Thucydides, who everywhere (and in his speeches still more than in his narrative) shows a want of variety. My friend Caecilius, however, thinks with me that his enthymemes have been imitated and emulated in a special degree by

σθένης. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, καλαὶ μὲν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμφότεραι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθείην ποιήσεις αὐτὰς λέγων), διαφέρουσι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα ἀλλήλων, ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἡροδότου κάλλος ἱλαρόν ἐστι, φοβερὸν δὲ τὸ Θουκυδίδου. ἀπόχρη ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι περὶ τούτων τῶν συγγραφέων, πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐνόντων λέγεσθαι, περὶ ὧν καὶ ἕτερος ἔσται καιρός.

IV

Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Φίλιστος οἱ τούτοις ἐπακμάσαντες οὔτε φύσεις ὁμοίας εἶχον οὔτε προαιρέσεις. Ξενοφῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἡροδότου ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο κατ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς χαρακτῆρας, τόν τε πραγματικὸν καὶ τὸν λεκτικόν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἐξελέξατο καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ προσηκούσας· τήν τε Κύρου παιδείαν, εἰκόνα βασιλέως | ἀγαθοῦ 778
καὶ εὐδαίμονος· καὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ νεωτέρου Κύρου, ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς συνανέβη, μέγιστον ἐγκώμιον ἔχουσαν τῶν συστρατευσαμένων Ἑλλήνων· καὶ τρίτην ἔτι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἣν κατέλιπεν ἀτελῆ Θουκυδίδης, ἐν ᾗ καταλύονταί τε οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθεῖλον, αὖθις ἀνίσταται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ὑποθέσεων χάριν ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι [ζηλωτὴς Ἡροδότου γενόμενος], ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας· ταῖς τε γὰρ ἀρχαῖς αὐτῶν ταῖς πρεπωδεστάταις κέχρηται καὶ τελευτὰς ἑκάστῃ τὰς ἐπιτηδειοτάτας ἀποδέδωκε, μεμέρικέν τε καλῶς καὶ τέταχε καὶ πεποίκιλκε τὴν γραφήν. ἦθός τε ἐπιδείκνυται θεοσεβὲς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ εὐπετές, ἁπάσαις τε συλλήβδην κεκοσμημένον ἀρεταῖς· καὶ ὁ μὲν πραγματικὸς τύπος αὐτῷ τοιοῦτος.

17, 18 Ἑλληνικὴν καὶ ἣν] vix sana lectio. 20 ἀνίσταται] Herwerdenus, ἀνίστανται libri. 21 ζηλωτὴς Ἡροδότου γενόμενος suspectavit Kruegerus conl. v. 10 supra.

Demosthenes. It may be said in general that the poetical compositions (as I should not shrink from calling them) of both are beautiful. The chief point of difference is that the beauty of Herodotus is radiant, that of Thucydides awe-inspiring. Enough has been said about these historians, although much more could be said, for which there will be another opportunity.

IV

Xenophon and Philistus, who flourished at a later time than these writers, did not resemble one another either in nature or in principles. Xenophon was an emulator of Herodotus in both kinds, matter and language. In the first place, the historical subjects he chose are fine and impressive and such as befit a philosopher: the *Education of Cyrus*, the portrait of a good and prosperous king; the *Expedition of the Younger Cyrus*, in which Xenophon, who himself took part in the campaign, extols so highly the bravery of the Greek auxiliaries; and also the *Greek History*, the story which Thucydides left unfinished, in which are described the overthrow of 'the Thirty' and the restoration of the Athenian walls razed by the Lacedaemonians. It is not only for his subjects, chosen in emulation of Herodotus, that Xenophon deserves commendation, but also for his arrangement of his material. Everywhere he begins and ends in the most fitting and appropriate way. His divisions are good, and so is his order and the variety of his writing. He displays piety, rectitude, resolution, geniality, in a word all the virtues which adorn the character. Such is the manner in which he deals with his subject-matter.

Ὁ δὲ λεκτικὸς πῇ μὲν ὅμοιος Ἡροδότου, πῇ δὲ ἐνδεέστερος. καθαρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἱκανῶς καὶ σαφὴς καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος· ἐκλέγει δὲ ὀνόματα συνήθη | τε 779
καὶ προσφυῆ τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ συντίθησιν αὐτὰ ἡδέως πάνυ καὶ κεχαρισμένως οὐχ ἧττον Ἡροδότου. ὕψος δὲ καὶ κάλλος καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἰδίως πλάσμα ἱστορικὸν Ἡρόδοτος ἔχει· οὐ γὰρ μόνον οὐκ ἴσχυσε τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἄν ποτε διεγεῖραι βουληθῇ τὴν φράσιν, ὀλίγον ἐμπνεύσας ὥσπερ ἀπόγειος αὔρα ταχέως σβέννυται. μακρότερος γὰρ γίνεται τοῦ δέοντος ἐν πολλοῖς, καὶ τοῦ πρέποντος οὐχ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἐφάπτεται τῶν προσώπων εὐτυχῶς, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλίγωρός ἐστιν, ἄν τις ὀρθῶς σκοπῇ.

V

Φίλιστος δὲ Θουκυδίδῃ μᾶλλον <ἂν> δόξειεν ἐοικέναι καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον κοσμεῖσθαι τὸν χαρακτῆρα. οὔτε γὰρ | ὑπόθεσιν εἴληφε πολυωφελῆ καὶ κοινήν, [ὥσπερ Θουκυ- 780
δίδης], ἀλλὰ μίαν καὶ ταύτην τοπικήν· διῄρηκε δ' αὐτὴν εἰς γραφὰς δύο, Περὶ Σικελίας μὲν τὴν προτέραν ἐπιγράφων, Περὶ Διονυσίου δὲ τὴν ὑστέραν. ἔστι δὲ μία· καὶ τοῦτο γνοίης ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τῆς Σικελικῆς. τάξιν δὲ οὐ τὴν κρατίστην ἀποδέδωκε τοῖς δηλουμένοις ἀλλὰ δυσπαρακολούθητον, χεῖρον τῆς Θουκυδίδου. καὶ πρᾶγμα ἔξωθεν οὐ βούλεται παραλαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὁμοειδής, ἦθός τε κολακικὸν καὶ φιλοτύραννον ἐμφαίνει καὶ ταπεινὸν καὶ μικρολόγον. τῆς δὲ λέξεως ᾗ Θουκυδίδης κέχρηται τὸ μὲν σημειώδες καὶ περίεργον πέφευγεν, τὸ δὲ στρογγύλον καὶ πυκνὸν καὶ

7 <οἷον> Ἡρόδοτος <οὐκ> conicit Usenerus. 9 βουληθῇ] Herwerdenus, βουληθείη libri. 14 ἄν inseruit Herwerdenus. 16 πολυωφελῆ mg. M^2 πολὺ ἀφελῆ M^1 Pal Bs: corr. Sylburgius. 18 εἰς γραφὰς] Kruegerus, εἰς ἐπιγραφὰς libri. 26 τὸ μὲν] Sylburgius, ᾗ μὲν libri. 27 πέφυκεν M Pal, πέφυκε Bs: corr. Sylburgius | πυκνὸν epitoma: πικρὸν libri.

In expression he is partly like Herodotus, partly inferior. He resembles him in marked purity and lucidity of vocabulary; he chooses terms that are familiar and consonant to the theme; and he puts them together with no less charm and grace than Herodotus. But Herodotus also possesses elevation and beauty and stateliness and what is specifically called the 'historical vein.' Not only was Xenophon powerless to borrow this from him, but if occasionally he wishes to enliven his style, like a land-breeze he blows but for a short time and quickly drops. Indeed, in many passages he is unduly long. So far from equalling the success of Herodotus in adapting his language to his characters, he is found on strict examination to be often careless in this respect.

Philistus would seem to resemble Thucydides more nearly and to have the same general stamp. Like Thucydides, he has not taken a subject of great utility and public interest, but a single and local one. He has divided it into two parts, entitling the former 'Concerning Sicily,' the latter 'Concerning Dionysius.' But the subject is one, as may be seen from the conclusion of the Sicilian section. He has not presented his narrative in the best order, but has made it hard to follow; his arrangement is inferior to that of Thucydides. No more than Thucydides does he desire to admit extraneous matter, and he is therefore wanting in variety. He displays a character which is obsequious, subservient, mean, and petty. He shuns what is peculiar and curious in the style of Thucydides, and reproduces what is

ἐνθυμηματικὸν ἐκμέμακται. τῆς μέντοι καλλιλο|γίας τῆς 781
ἐκείνου καὶ τοῦ πλούτου τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων καὶ πολὺ
ὑστερεῖ. οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
σχηματισμούς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ πλήρης σχημάτων (καὶ οὐδὲν
οἶμαι περὶ τῶν φανερῶν ἐπὶ πλέον δεῖν λέγειν), ἡ δὲ
Φιλίστου φράσις ὁμοειδὴς πᾶσα δεινῶς καὶ ἀσχημάτιστός
ἐστι· καὶ πολλὰς εὕροι τις ἂν περιόδους ὁμοίως ἐφεξῆς
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σχηματιζομένας, οἷον ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς δευτέρας τῶν
περὶ Σικελίας· 'Συρακόσιοι δὲ παραλαβόντες Μεγαρεῖς
καὶ Ἐνναίους, Καμαριναῖοι δὲ Σικελοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
συμμάχους πλὴν Γελῴων ἀθροίσαντες, Γελῷοι δὲ Συρα-
κοσίοις οὐκ ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν· Συρακόσιοι δὲ πυνθανό-
μενοι Καμαριναίους τὸν Ἅρμινον διαβάντας—'· ταῦτα δὲ
ἀηδῆ πάνυ ὄντα ἐμοὶ φαίνεται. μικρός τε παρὰ πᾶσαν
ἰδέαν ἐστὶ καὶ εὐτελής, ἐάν τε πολιορκίας διηγῆται ἐάν
τε οἰκισμούς, ἐάν τε ἐπαίνους ἐάν τε ψόγους | διαπορεύηται. 782
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν συνεξισῶν τοὺς
λόγους, ἀλλὰ ψοφοδεεῖς καὶ τοὺς δημηγοροῦντας κατα-
λείπειν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις ὁμοίως ἅπαντας
ποιεῖ. εὐστομίαν δέ τινα φυσικὴν εἰσφέρεται κατὰ τὴν
ἑρμηνείαν καὶ σύνεσιν ἐπιτευκτικὴν τοῦ μετρίου. πρὸς
δὲ τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐπιτηδειότερος Θουκυδίδου.

VI

Θεόπομπος δὲ Χῖος ἐπιφανέστατος πάντων <τῶν>
Ἰσοκράτους μαθητῶν γενόμενος καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν παν-
ρικούς, πολλοὺς δὲ συμβουλευτικοὺς συνταξάμενος λόγους
ἐπιστολάς τε τὰς Χιακὰς ἐπιγραφομένας καὶ ὑποθήκας

1 ἐκμέμακται] Kruegerus, μέμικται libri. 2 καὶ πολὺ] Us, κατὰ πολὺ libri. 3 δ' ἐν] Holwellus, δὲ libri. 9 σικελίαν M Pal B: corr. s. 14 παρὰ M: περὶ Pal B s. 15 καὶ εὐτελὴς libri: corr. Boissonadius. 23 τῶν inseruit Herwerdenus. 26 Χιακὰς] Us, ἀχαικὰς M Pal B, ἀχαϊκὰς s | ἐπιγραφομένας MB: γραφομένας Pal s.

rounded and terse and enthymematic. He falls, however, very far behind the beauty of language and the wealth of enthymemes found in Thucydides. And not only in these respects is he inferior, but also in his composition. The style of Thucydides is full of variety, a fact which is so obvious that I consider it needs no further demonstration. But the language of Philistus is exceedingly uniform and lacking in variety. Many successive sentences will be found to be constructed by him in the same way. For example, at the beginning of the Second Book of his Sicilian History: 'The Syracusans having associated with themselves the Megarians and Ennaeans, and the Camarinaeans having mustered the Sicels and the rest of the allies except the Geloans (now the Geloans said that they would not wage war against the Syracusans); and the Syracusans learning that the Camarinaeans had crossed the Hyrminus.....'[1]: all this is to me obviously most displeasing. He is trivial and commonplace whatever his subject may be, whether he describes sieges or settlements, whether he deals in eulogium or in censure. Moreover, he does not write speeches worthy of the greatness of the speakers, but he makes even his parliamentary orators, one and all, abandon in a panic alike their faculties and their principles. He possesses, however, a sort of natural euphony of style and a well-balanced judgment. And he is a better model for actual pleadings than Thucydides.

VI

Theopompus of Chios was the most celebrated of all the disciples of Isocrates. He composed many panegyrics and many deliberative speeches, as well as the 'Chian' Letters

[1] Philistus, *fragm.* 8 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* p. 186).

ἄλλας λόγου ἀξίας, ἱστορίαν πεπραγματευμένος ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς ὑποθέσεως τῶν ἱστοριῶν (καλαὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεραι, ἡ μὲν τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ Πελο|ποννη- 783
σιακοῦ πολέμου περιέχουσα, ἡ δὲ τὰ Φιλίππῳ πεπραγμένα), ἔπειτα τῆς οἰκονομίας (ἀμφότεραι γάρ εἰσιν εὐπαρακολούθητοι καὶ σαφεῖς), μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν συγγραφήν· δῆλος γάρ ἐστιν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔγραψε, πλείστην μὲν παρασκευὴν εἰς ταῦτα παρεσκευασμένος, μεγίστας δὲ δαπάνας εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τετελεκώς, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πολλῶν μὲν αὐτόπτης γεγενημένος, πολλοῖς δ' εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθὼν ἀνδράσι τοῖς τότε πρωτεύουσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς δημαγωγοῖς τε καὶ φιλοσόφοις διὰ τὴν συγγραφήν· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τινὲς πάρεργον τοῦ βίου τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐποιήσατο, ἔργον δὲ τὸ πάντων ἀναγκαιότατον. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις αὐτοῦ τὸν πόνον ἐνθυμηθεὶς τὸ πολύμορφον τῆς γραφῆς· καὶ γὰρ ἐθνῶν εἴρηκεν οἰκισμοὺς καὶ πόλεων κτίσεις ἐπελήλυθε, βασιλέων τε βίους καὶ τρόπων ἰδιώματα δεδήλωκε, καὶ | εἴ τι θαυμαστὸν ἢ παράδοξον ἑκάστη γῇ καὶ θάλασσα 784
φέρει, συμπεριείληφεν τῇ πραγματείᾳ. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ψυχαγωγίαν ταῦτ' εἶναι μόνον· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὠφέλειαν περιέχει.

Ἵνα δὲ πάντ' ἀφῶ τἆλλα, τίς οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν φιλόσοφον ῥητορικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν ἔθη καὶ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐκμαθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ νόμους ἀκοῦσαι πολιτειῶν τε σχήματα, καὶ βίους ἀνδρῶν καὶ πράξεις καὶ τέλη καὶ τύχας; τούτοις τοίνυν ἅπασαν ἀφθονίαν δέδωκεν οὐκ ἀπεσπασμένην τῶν πραγμάτων ἀλλὰ συμπαροῦσαν. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ζηλωτὰ τοῦ

1 ἀξίας, ἱστορίαν] Us, ἀξίαν ἱστορίαν libri. 15 ἀναγκαιότατον] Sylburgius, ἀναγκαιότερον libri. 20 συμπεριείληφεν ἐν libri: ἐν dittographia natum delevit Herwerdenus. 22 πᾶσαν] Herwerdenus, πᾶσιν libri. 24 ἀσκοῦσι] Holwellus, ἀκούουσι libri. 25 ἔθη] Holwellus, ἔθνη libri. 28 ἅπασαν] Herwerdenus, ἅπασιν libri.

and some noteworthy treatises. As a student of history he deserves praise on several grounds. His historical subjects are both good, one of them embracing the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War, the other the career of Philip. His arrangement, also, is good, being in both cases lucid and easy to follow. Especially admirable are the care and industry which mark his historical writing, for it is clear, even if he had said nothing to that effect, that he prepared himself most fully for his task and incurred heavy expense in the collection of his material. Moreover, he was an eye-witness of many events, and came in contact with many leading men and generals of his day, whether popular leaders or more cultivated persons. All this he did in order to improve his History. For he did not (as some do) consider the recording of his researches as a pastime, but as the one thing needful in life. The trouble he took may be inferred from the comprehensiveness of his work. He has related the foundation of nations, described the establishment of cities, portrayed royal lives and peculiar customs, and incorporated in his work everything wonderful or strange found on any land or sea. Nor must it be supposed that this is merely a form of entertainment. It is not so. Such particulars are, it may in general be said, of the greatest utility.

In fine, who will not admit that it is necessary for the votaries of philosophic rhetoric to study the various customs both of foreigners and of Greeks, to hear about various laws and forms of government, the lives of men and their actions, their deaths and fortunes? For such votaries he has provided material in all plenty, not divorced from the events narrated, but in close connexion with them. All these qualities of the historian are worthy of admiration. The

συγγραφέως, καὶ ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις ὅσα φιλοσοφεῖ παρ' ὅλην τὴν <συγγραφὴν περὶ> δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς διεξερχόμενος λόγους. τελευταῖόν ἐστι τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηρικώτατον, ὃ παρ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγ|γραφέων οὕτως 785
ἀκριβῶς ἐξείργασται καὶ δυνατῶς οὔτε τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οὔτε τῶν νεωτέρων· τί δὲ τοῦτό ἐστι; τὸ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν μὴ μόνον τὰ φανερὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁρᾶν καὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐξετάζειν καὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς αἰτίας τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν πραξάντων αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἃ μὴ ῥᾴδια τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰδέναι, καὶ πάντα ἐκκαλύπτειν τὰ μυστήρια τῆς τε δοκούσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς ἀγνοουμένης κακίας. καί μοι δοκεῖ πως ὁ μυθευόμενος ἐν Ἅιδου τῶν ψυχῶν ἀπολυθεισῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐξετασμὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δικαστῶν οὕτως ἀκριβὴς εἶναι ὡς ὁ διὰ τῆς Θεοπόμπου γραφῆς γιγνόμενος. διὸ καὶ βάσκανος ἔδοξεν εἶναι, προσλαμβάνων τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τινὰ ὀνειδισμοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐνδόξων προσώπων οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα πράγματα, ὁμοιόν τι ποιῶν τοῖς ἰατροῖς, οἳ τέμνουσι καὶ καίουσι τὰ διεφθαρμένα τοῦ σώματος ἕως βάθους τὰ καυτήρια καὶ τὰς τομὰς φέροντες, οὐδὲν τῶν ὑγιαινόντων καὶ κατὰ φύσιν | ἐχόντων στοχα- 786
ζόμενοι. τοιοῦτος μὲν δή τις ὁ πραγματικὸς Θεοπόμπου χαρακτήρ.

Ὁ δὲ λεκτικὸς Ἰσοκράτει μάλιστα ἔοικε. καθαρά τε γὰρ ἡ λέξις καὶ κοινὴ καὶ σαφής, ὑψηλή τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς καὶ τὸ πομπικὸν ἔχουσα πολύ, συγκειμένη τε κατὰ τὴν μέσην ἁρμονίαν, ἡδέως καὶ μαλακῶς ῥέουσα. διαλλάττει δὲ τῆς Ἰσοκρατείου κατὰ τὴν πικρότητα καὶ

2 συγγραφὴν (ἱστορίαν Sylb.) περὶ add. Usenerus | δικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν libri: corr. Sylburgius. 6 καὶ δύναται libri: corr. Holwellus. 13 πως] Us, ὡς libri | ἐν Ἅιδου] A. Schaeferus, εἶναι libri. 16, 17 προσλαμβάνων MB: προλαμβάνων Pal s | τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις τινὰ M: τινὰ τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις Pal B s. κατὰ] Reiskius, καὶ τὰ libri. 20 ἕως MB¹: ὡς Pal s mg B. 21 οὐδὲν MB: οὐδὲ Pal s. 24 καθαρά τε MB: καθαρὰ Pal s.

same may be said of the philosophical reflections scattered throughout his History, for he has many fine observations on justice, piety, and the rest of the virtues. There remains his crowning and most characteristic quality, one which is found developed with equal care and effect in no other writer, whether of the older or the younger generation. And what is this quality? It is the gift of seeing and stating in each case not only what is obvious to the multitude, but of examining even the hidden motives of actions and actors and the feelings of the soul (things not easily discerned by the crowd), and of laying bare all the mysteries of seeming virtue and undiscovered vice. Indeed, I can well believe that the fabled examination, before the judges in the other world, of souls in Hades when separated from the body is of the same searching kind as that which is conducted by means of the writings of Theopompus. In consequence he was thought malicious on the ground that, where reproaches against distinguished persons were necessary, he added unnecessary details; while in truth he acted like surgeons who cut and cauterize the morbid parts of the system, carrying their operations far down, and yet in no way assailing the healthy and normal organs. Such is an account of the way in which Theopompus deals with his subject-matter.

In style he is most like to Isocrates. His diction is pure, familiar and clear; it is elevated, grand, and full of stateliness; it is formed according to the middle *harmony*, having a pleasant and easy flow. It differs from that of Isocrates in pungency and energy in some passages, when he gives free

τὸν τόνον ἐπ' ἐνίων, ὅταν ἐπιτρέψῃ τοῖς πάθεσι, μάλιστα δ' ὅταν ὀνειδίζῃ πόλεσιν ἢ στρατηγοῖς πονηρὰ βουλεύματα καὶ πράξεις ἀδίκους· πολὺς γὰρ ἐν τούτοις, καὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος οὐδὲ κατὰ μικρὸν διαφέρει, ὡς ἐξ ἄλλων πολλῶν ἄν τις ἴδοι κἀκ τῶν Χιακῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἃς τῷ <συμφύτῳ> πνεύματι ἐπιτρέψας γέγραφεν. εἰ δ' ὑπερεῖδεν ἐν τούτοις ἐφ' οἷς μάλιστα ἀντεσπούδακε τῆς τε συμπλοκῆς τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων | καὶ τῆς κυ- 787
κλικῆς εὐρυθμίας τῶν περιόδων καὶ τῆς ὁμοειδείας τῶν σχηματισμῶν, πολὺ ἀμείνων ἂν ἦν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τὴν φράσιν.

Ἔστι δὲ ἃ καὶ κατὰ τὸν πραγματικὸν τόπον ἁμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς παρεμβολάς· οὔτε γὰρ ἀναγκαῖαί τινες αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐν καιρῷ γενόμεναι, πολὺ δὲ τὸ παιδιῶδες ἐμφαίνουσαι· ἐν οἷς ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ Σιληνοῦ τοῦ φανέντος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ δράκοντος τοῦ διαναυμαχήσαντος πρὸς τὴν τριήρη καὶ ἄλλα τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγα ὅμοια.

Οὗτοι παραληφθέντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀρκέσουσι τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὸν πολιτικὸν λόγον ἀφορμὰς ἐπιτηδείους παραδειγμάτων παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπασαν ἰδέαν.

5 Χιακῶν] Us, ἀρχαικῶν M Pal B ἀρχαϊκῶν s. 6 *συμφύτῳ* ante *πνεύματι* inseruit Usenerus: lacunam ix vel x litterarum M, v vel vi litterarum indicat B, nullam Pal s. 7 *ἀντεσπούδακε*] *ἂν ἐσπούδακε* libri. 13 *παρεμβολάς*] Kiesslingius, *παραβολάς* libri. 15 *σιληνοῦ* M Pal B: Σειληνοῦ s. 18 *οὗτοι*] Holwellus, *τούτοις* libri.

play to his emotions, and particularly when he taxes cities or generals with evil counsels and unjust actions. In such criticisms he abounds, and he falls not one whit behind the intensity of Demosthenes, as may be seen from many other writings and from his *Chian Letters*, in composing which he has obeyed his native instincts. If in the passages on which he has bestowed the greatest pains, he had paid less attention to the blending of vowels, the measured cadence of periods, and the uniformity of constructions, he would have far surpassed himself in expression.

He is also guilty of errors in the sphere of subject-matter, and particularly in regard to his digressions, some of which are neither necessary nor opportune, but childish in the extreme. An instance is the story of the Silenus who appeared in Macedonia, and that of the fight between the serpent and the galley, and not a few other things of the kind.

The study of these historians will suffice to furnish to those who practise civil oratory a suitable fund of examples for every variety of style.

DIONYSII HALICARNASSENSIS

EPISTULA AD AMMAEUM II

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΕΩΣ 788 R
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ

ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΟΣ ΑΜΜΑΙΩΙ ΤΩΙ ΦΙΛΤΑΤΩΙ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

I

Ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπελάμβανον ἀρκούντως δεδηλωκέναι τὸν Θουκυδίδου χαρακτῆρα, τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων περὶ αὐτὸν ἰδιωμάτων ἐπεξελθών, ἐν οἷς γε δὴ μάλιστα διαφέρειν ἔδοξέν μοι τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ ῥητόρων τε καὶ συγγραφέων, πρότερον μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ | τῶν 789
ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων πρὸς τὸ σὸν ὄνομα συνταχθεῖσιν ὑπομνηματισμοῖς, ὀλίγοις δὲ πρόσθεν χρόνοις ἐν τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου κατασκευασθείσῃ γραφῇ προσειπὼν τὸν Αἴλιον Τουβέρωνα, ἐν ᾗ πάντα τὰ δεόμενα λόγου μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποδείξεων διεξελήλυθα κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δύναμιν· σοῦ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνοντος ἧττον ἠκριβῶσθαι τὰς γραφάς, ἐπειδὴ προεκθέμενος ἅπαντα τὰ συμβεβηκότα τῷ χαρακτῆρι τότε τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν πίστεις παρέχομαι, ἀκριβεστέραν δὲ τὴν δήλωσιν τῶν ἰδιωμάτων τοῦ χαρακτῆρος ἔσεσθαι νομίζοντος, εἰ παρὰ μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν

6 ἐνοῖς P. 9 προστόσον P | συντεταχθεῖσιν P. 10 δὲ] H. Stephanus, δὴ PGCD. 11 προσειπὸν P: ω superscr. m. rec. 12 τοῦ βέρωνα PD. ἐνῇ P: sic plerumque. 13 ἀποδέων P: ει ξ superscr. m. rec. ἐμαυτοῦ G: αὐτοῦ PCD. 16 [πίστ]εις cum rasurae vestigiis P.

LETTER OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS CONCERNING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LANGUAGE OF THUCYDIDES.

DIONYSIUS TO HIS FRIEND AMMAEUS WITH GREETINGS.

I

I thought I had sufficiently indicated the characteristics of Thucydides when describing the most important and remarkable of those peculiarities which seemed to me to distinguish him from all previous orators and historians. I have, in fact, previously treated the subject in the essays, inscribed with your name, on the *Ancient Orators*, and a little time before in the treatise on Thucydides himself which I addressed to Aelius Tubero, in which I have, to the best of my ability, gone into all the points needing discussion, and have added suitable illustrations. But your view is that these writings lack precision, in that I do not give the proofs till I have specified the characteristics. You think that the exposition of characteristic peculiarities would gain in precision if, side by side with each single statement, I were to

προθέσεων τὰς λέξεις τοῦ συγγραφέως παρατιθείην, ὃ οἱ τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς εἰσαγωγὰς τῶν λόγων πραγματευόμενοι ποιοῦσιν, προελόμενος εἰς μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν καὶ τοῦτο πεποίηκα, τὸ διδασκαλικὸν σχῆμα λαβὼν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιδεικτικοῦ.

II

| Ἵνα δὲ εὐπαρακολούθητος ὁ λόγος σοι γένηται, προθεὶς 790
κατὰ λέξιν ὅσα περὶ τοῦ συγγραφέως τυγχάνω προειρηκώς, ἐπιτροχάδην ἀναλήψομαι τῶν προθέσεων ἑκάστην καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις παρέξομαι, καθάπερ ἠξίους. ἕπεται δὲ τοῖς περὶ Ἡροδότου γραφεῖσιν τὰ μέλλοντα δηλοῦσθαι. τούτῳ γὰρ Θουκυδίδης τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιβαλὼν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧν πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, καὶ συνιδὼν ἃς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἔσχεν ἀρετάς, ἴδιόν τι γένος χαρακτῆρος, οὔτε πεζὸν αὐτοτελῶς οὔτ' ἔμμετρον ἀπηρτισμένως, κοινὸν δέ τι καὶ μικτὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐργασάμενος εἰς τὴν ἱστορικὴν πραγματείαν ἐσπούδασεν εἰσαγαγεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς ἐκλογῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν τροπικὴν καὶ γλωττηματικὴν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένην καὶ ξένην λέξιν παραλαμβάνων πολλάκις ἀντὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν σχηματισμῶν, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη διενεγκεῖν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ, πλείστην εἰσενεγκάμενος πραγματείαν,

1 προθέσεων] Reiskius, παραθέσεων PGCD. 7 ὅσαπερ τοῦ P. 9 ἠξίουν PGCD: corr. Sylburgius. 11 verba quae sequuntur ex commentario de Thucydide (Δ) c. xxiv sublata sunt | τούτῳ δὲ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐπιβαλὼν Δ. 12 ὧ[ν πρό]τερον cum liturae vestigiis P | συνειδὼν P. 13 ἴδιον.....15 εἰς] ἰδιόν τινα χαρακτῆρα καὶ παρεωραμένον ἅπασι πρῶτος εἰς Δ. 15 μικτὸν CDs: μικρὸν PG. 16 ἀγαγεῖν Δ. 18 παραλαμβάνων πολλάκις] προελόμενος Δ. 19 τοῖς GCs: τῆσ PD. κατ' αὐτὸν Δ | ἐπὶ δὲ] ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως τῶν τ' ἐλαττόνων καὶ τῶν μειζόνων μορίων τὴν ἀξιωματικὴν καὶ αὐστηρὰν καὶ στιβαρὰν καὶ βεβηκυῖαν καὶ τραχύνουσαν ταῖς τῶν γραμμάτων ἀντιτυπίαις τὰς ἀκοὰς ἀντὶ τῆς λιγυρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς καὶ συνεζεσμένης καὶ μηδὲν ἐχούσης ἀντίτυπον· ἐπὶ δὲ Δ. 20 μάλησστα P | διενέγκαι Δ. 21 αυτοῦ P, αὐτοῦ GCD: corr. Kruegerus. πραγματείαν] σπουδήν. διετέλεσέ γέ τοι τὸν ἑπτακαιεικοσαετῆ χρόνον τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἕως τῆς τελευτῆς τὰς ὀκτὼ βύβλους, ἃς μόνας κατέλιπεν, στρέφων ἄνω καὶ κάτω, καὶ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν τῆς φράσεως μορίων ῥινῶν καὶ τορεύων· καὶ Δ.

set down the expressions of the historian, as is the practice of the authors of rhetorical handbooks and introductions to the art of composition. Desiring, therefore, to meet every criticism, I have taken this course, and have followed the didactic method in place of the epideictic.

II

In order that the argument may be easy for you to follow, I will first quote word for word what I have previously said with regard to the historian, and will then cursorily review each several proposition, and will supply the illustrations as you desire. The passage about to be cited follows the remarks on Herodotus. 'Coming after Herodotus and the authors previously mentioned, and taking a comprehensive view of their several excellences, Thucydides aspired to form and to introduce into historical composition an individual manner of his own, one which was neither absolute prose nor downright metre, but something compounded of the two. In the choice of words he often adopts a figurative, obscure, archaic and strange diction, in place of that which was in common use and familiar to the men of his day. He takes the greatest trouble to vary his constructions, since it was in this respect chiefly that he wished to excel his predecessors. At

τοτὲ | μὲν λόγον ἐξ ὀνόματος ποιῶν, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ὄνομα 791
συνάγων τὸν λόγον· καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ ῥηματικὸν ὀνοματικῶς
ἐκφέρων, αὖθις δὲ τοὔνομα ῥῆμα ποιῶν· καὶ αὐτῶν γε
τούτων ἀναστρέφων τὰς χρήσεις, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν
<προσηγορικὸν γένηται, τὸ δὲ προσηγορικὸν ὀνοματικῶς>
λέγηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν παθητικὰ ῥήματα δραστήρια, τὰ δὲ
δραστήρια παθητικά· πληθυντικῶν δὲ καὶ ἑνικῶν ἀλλάτ-
των τὰς φύσεις καὶ ἀντικατηγορῶν ταῦτα ἀλλήλων, θηλυκά
τ' ἀρρενικοῖς καὶ ἀρρενικὰ θηλυκοῖς καὶ οὐδέτερα τούτων
τισὶν συνάπτων, ἐξ ὧν ἡ κατὰ φύσιν ἀκολουθία πλανᾶται·
τὰς δὲ <τῶν> ὀνοματικῶν ἢ μετοχικῶν πτώσεις τοτὲ μὲν
πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαίνοντος ἀποστρέφων,
τοτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὸ <σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ> σημαινομένου· ἐν
δὲ τοῖς συνδετικοῖς καὶ τοῖς προθετικοῖς μορίοις καὶ ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς διαρθροῦσι τὰς τῶν ὀνομάτων δυνά|μεις 792
ποιητοῦ τρόπον ἐνεξουσιάζων. πλεῖστα δ' ἄν τις εὕροι
παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν σχημάτων, προσώπων τε ἀποστροφαῖς καὶ
χρόνων ἐναλλαγαῖς καὶ τοπικῶν σημειώσεων μεταφοραῖς
ἐξηλλαγμένα καὶ σολοικισμῶν λαμβάνοντα φαντασίας·
ὁπόσα τε γίνεται πράγματα ἀντὶ σωμάτων ἢ σώματα
ἀντὶ πραγμάτων, καὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἐνθυμημάτων τε καὶ νοημάτων
αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις πολλαὶ γινόμεναι διὰ μακροῦ
τὴν ἀκολουθίαν κομίζονται, τά τε σκολιὰ καὶ πολύπλοκα
καὶ δυσεξέλικτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ συγγενῆ τούτοις. εὕροι
δ' ἄν τις οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῶν θεατρικῶν σχημάτων κείμενα

1 ἐξ' sic P. 4 ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν λέγηται PG, ἵνα τὸ μὲν ὀνοματικὸν ῥηματικῶν, τὸ δὲ ῥηματικὸν ὀνοματικὸν λέγηται CDs: tu vide Δ p. 867 extr. R. 7 ἐναλλάττων Δ. 8 ἐγκατηγορῶν Δ. 9 ἀρενικοῖς P, ἀρσενικοῖς ΔDs | ἀρρενικὰ Δ: ἄρρενα PGCD. 9, 10 τούτων τισὶν corr. P¹, τούτων σὶν pr. P¹. 11 δὲ τῶν Δ: δὲ PGCD. τοτὲ Δ. 13 τοτὲ Δ | πρὸς τὸ σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου ΔCDs: πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον PG. 15 ὀνομάτων Δ: νοημάτων PGCD. 16 εὕροι P, om. Δ. 17 τῶν σχημάτων] σχήματα Δ | ἀποστροφ[αῖ]ς cum rasura P. 18 διαφοραῖς Δ. 19 ἐξηλλαγμένα τῶν συνήθων καὶ Δ. 20 ὁπόσα τε γίγνεται Δ: ἀποστέγειν ἢ τὰ PGCD: corr. Reiskius. 21 τε καὶ νοημάτων om. Δ. 22 μακροῦ] πολλοῦ Δ. 24, 25 εὕροι δ' ἄν P.

one time he makes a phrase out of a word, at another time he condenses a phrase into a word. Now he gives a nominal in place of a verbal form, and again he converts a noun into a verb. He inverts the ordinary use of nouns and verbs themselves, interchanging common with proper nouns and active with passive verbs. He varies the normal use of the plural and the singular number, and predicates the one in place of the other. He combines feminines with masculines, masculines with feminines, and neuters with the other genders; and the natural agreement of gender is violated thereby. He wrests the cases of nouns or participles at times from the expression to the sense, at other times from the sense to the expression. In the employment of conjunctions and prepositions, and especially of the particles which serve to bring out the meanings of individual words, he allows himself full poetic liberty. There will be found in him a large number of constructions which by changes of person and variations of tense, and by the strained use of expressions denoting place, differ from ordinary speech and have all the appearance of solecisms. Further, he frequently substitutes things for persons and persons for things. In his enthymemes and his sentences the numerous parentheses often delay the conclusion for a long time, while there is much in him that is tortuous, involved, perplexed, and similarly defective. Moreover, not a few of the showy figures will be found to be

παρ' αὐτῷ, τὰς παρισώσεις λέγω καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ παρονομασίας καὶ ἀντιθέσεις, ἐν αἷς ἐπλεόνασε Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος καὶ οἱ περὶ Πῶλον καὶ Λικύμνιον καὶ πολλοὶ ἄλλοι τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀκμασάντων. ἐκδηλότατα δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ χαρακτηρικώτατά ἐστι τό τε πειρᾶσθαι δι' ἐλαχίστων ὀνομάτων πλεῖστα σημαίνειν | πράγματα καὶ πολλὰ συν- 793
τιθέναι νοήματα εἰς ἓν καὶ ἔτι προσδεχόμενόν τι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἀκούσεσθαι καταλιπεῖν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀσαφὲς γίνεται τὸ βραχύ. ἵνα δὲ συνελὼν εἴπω, τέσσαρα μέν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ὄργανα τῆς Θουκυδίδου λέξεως, τὸ ποιητικὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, τὸ πολυειδὲς τῶν σχημάτων, τὸ τραχὺ τῆς ἁρμονίας, τὸ τάχος τῆς σημασίας· χρώματα δὲ αὐτῆς τό τε στριφνὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ τὸ αὐστηρὸν καὶ τὸ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ τὸ δεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν, ὑπὲρ ἅπαντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα τὸ παθητικόν. τοιουτοσὶ μὲν δή τίς ἐστιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης κατὰ τὸν τῆς λέξεως χαρακτῆρα, ᾧ παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διήνεγκεν.

III

Γλωσσηματικὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπηρχαιωμένα καὶ δυσείκαστα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστι τό τε ἀκραιφνές καὶ ὁ ἐπιλογισμός καὶ ἡ περιωπή καὶ ἡ | ἀνακωχή καὶ τὰ 794
ὅμοια τούτοις. ποιητικὰ δὲ ἥ τε κωλύμη καὶ ἡ πρέσβευσις καὶ ἡ καταβοή καὶ ἡ ἀχθηδών καὶ ἡ δικαίωσις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια.

ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς σχηματισμοῖς καινότης τε καὶ πολυτροπία καὶ ἡ ἐξαλλαγὴ τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα

1 καὶ παρομοιώσεις om. Δ. 4 ἐκδηλώτατα P. 5 χαρακτηριστικώτατα CDs | ἔστι P. 7 εἰς ἓν ex Δ Reiskius: εἰς ἃ PGCD. 8 ἀκούσεσθαι CDsΔ: ἀκούεσθαι PG | ὑφὧν P. 12 τῆς σημασίας] τῶν σχημάτων Δ corruptum ut videtur ex τῶν σημασιῶν. 13 τὸ πυκνὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν ordine inverso Δ. 14 καὶ τὸ φοβερόν Δ. 15 αὐτοῦ om. Δ | τοιοῦτος Δ. 19, 20 ἐπιλογισμὸς PCD, παραλογισμὸς G, περιλογισμὸς s: fort. ἐπηλύτης. 21, 22 πρεσβεύ εις P, πρέσβευσις GCD. 22 καταβοή] Sylburgius, καταβολὴ PGCD. 24 τε] δὲ Pa.

employed by him,—I mean those *parisoses*, *paromoeoses*, *paronomasiae* and *antitheses*, which are so lavishly used by Gorgias of Leontini, by the school of Polus and Licymnius, and by many others who flourished in his time. The most obvious of his characteristics is the attempt to indicate as many things as possible in as few words as possible, to combine many ideas in one, and to leave the listener expecting to hear something more. The consequence is that brevity becomes obscurity. In fine, there are four "instruments," so to say, of the style of Thucydides,—the artificial character of the vocabulary, the variety of the constructions, the roughness of the harmony, the speed of the narrative. Its "colours" are solidity, pungency, condensation, austerity, gravity, terrible vehemence, and above all his power of stirring the emotions. Such is Thucydides in respect of those characteristics of his style which distinguish him from all other writers[1].'

III

Examples of expressions which are obscure, and archaic, and puzzling to ordinary people are: *τὸ ἀκραιφνές*, *ὁ ἐπιλογισμός*, *ἡ περιωπή*, *ἡ ἀνακωχή*, and so forth. Of artificial words instances are: *ἡ κωλύμη*, *ἡ πρέσβευσις*, *ἡ καταβοή*, *ἡ ἀχθηδών*, *ἡ δικαίωσις*, and so on.

His novelty and variety in his constructions, and his departure from established usage, which we consider to be

[1] Dionys. Hal. *de Thucyd.* cc. 24, 25.

διαφέρειν αὐτὸν ἡγούμεθα τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπὶ τούτων γίγνεται τῶν ἔργων φανερά·

IV

ὅταν μὲν οὖν μίαν λέξιν εἴτε ὀνοματικὴν εἴτε ῥηματικὴν ἐν πλείοσιν ὀνόμασιν ἢ ῥήμασιν ἐκφέρῃ περιφράζων τὴν αὐτὴν νόησιν, τοιαύτην ποιεῖ τὴν λέξιν· 'ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι.' καὶ μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ γέγραφεν· 'οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται.' καὶ γὰρ ἐν | τούτοις τὸ σημαινόμενον** ποιεῖ 795
τὸν λόγον τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Βρασίδα τέθηκεν, ὅτε μαχόμενος περὶ Πύλον ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς τραυματίας γενόμενος ἐξέπεσεν· 'πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ' φησίν 'εἰς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἡ ἀσπὶς περιερρύη.' βούλεται γὰρ δηλοῦν· 'πεσόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔξω τῆς νεὼς ἐπὶ τὰ προέχοντα μέρη τῆς εἰρεσίας' [εἰς θάλατταν].

V

Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰ ῥηματικὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως ὀνοματικῶς σχηματίζει, τοιαύτην ποιεῖ τὴν φράσιν· ἔστιν δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ τάδε λέγων· 'δικαιώματα μὲν οὖν τάδε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχομεν, παραίνεσιν δὲ καὶ ἀξίωσιν χάριτος τοιάνδε.' τὸ γὰρ παραινεῖν καὶ ἀξιοῦν ῥήματα ὄντα ὀνοματικὰ γέγονεν παραίνεσις καὶ ἀξίωσις. ταύτης ἐστὶ τῆς ἰδέας ἥ τε οὐκ ἀποτείχισις τοῦ | Πλημμυρίου ἡ ἐν τῇ 796

4 ἐμπλείοσιν P. 7 τι ἐς αὐτὸ Gs, τισ σαυ το P, τῖς αὐτὸν D, τι» αὐτὸν C. θαυμᾶσαι P. 10 verba nonnulla hic deesse videntur. 12 νεῶς P. 13 πεσόντος δὲ] καὶ πεσόντος Θ. 14 περιερρύη· P. 15 πεσόντος] Us, τὸ ὄντος PGCD. 16 εἰς θάλατταν tanquam glossema supplendis Thucydidis verbis v. 14 adscriptum seclusit Usenerus. 17 ὀνοματικῶς P, ὀνοματικῶς Cs. 20 ἔχομεν] ἔχομεν ἱκανὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνων νόμους Θ. 22 ὀνοματικὰ PG: ὀνοματικῶς C, ὀνομαστικῶς D. 24 ἡ P: ἦν GCDs.

the chief point of difference between him and all other writers, may be illustrated by the following instances.

IV

When he amplifies a single idea and uses a number of nouns or verbs in place of one nominal or verbal expression, he expresses himself thus: 'Themistocles exhibited his natural force in the most convincing way, and in this respect he was especially worthy of admiration beyond any rival[1].' Again, in the Funeral Speech he writes: 'nor yet on the score of poverty is a man who has it in his power to confer a service on the state debarred through the obscurity of his rank[2].' For in these cases the sense** He expresses himself as in his description of the Spartan Brasidas when in the engagement at Pylus he was wounded and fell overboard. 'He fell,' he says, 'on to the *παρεξειρεσία*, and his shield slipped off[3].' What he means is: 'he fell overboard on to the projecting parts of the oars.'

V

When he gives the form of nouns to the verbal parts of speech, he expresses himself as follows. In his First Book the Corinthian envoy addresses the Athenians thus: 'such are the pleas for justice we can bring before you, together with the following exhortation and claim to gratitude[4].' Here the verbs 'we can exhort' and 'we can claim' have been changed into the nouns 'exhortation' and 'claim.' Parallel expressions are 'the non-circumvallation of the Plemmyrium' in the Seventh Book, and 'the lamentation'

[1] Thucyd. I. 138.
[2] Thucyd. II. 37.
[3] Thucyd. IV. 12.
[4] Thucyd. I. 41.

ἑβδόμῃ βύβλῳ <καὶ ἡ ὀλόφυρσις ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ> τέθηκεν ἐν δημηγορίᾳ. τὸ γὰρ ἀποτειχίσαι καὶ τὸ ὀλοφύρασθαι ῥηματικὰ ὄντα ὀνοματικῶς ἐσχημάτικεν ἀποτείχισιν καὶ ὀλόφυρσιν.

VI

Ὅταν δὲ ἀντιστρέψας ἑκατέρου τούτων τὴν φύσιν τὰ ὀνόματα ποιῇ ῥήματα, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκφέρει τὴν λέξιν, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ περὶ τῆς αἰτίας τοῦ πολέμου γράφει· 'τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀληθεστάτην αἰτίαν, λόγῳ δὲ ἀφανεστάτην, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἶομαι μεγάλους γινομένους ἀναγκάσαι εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν.' βούλεται γὰρ δηλοῦν, ὅτι μεγάλοι γιγνόμενοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνάγκην παρέσχον τοῦ πολέμου· πεποίηκεν δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ὀνοματικῶν ὄντων ῥηματικὰ τό τε ἀναγκάσαι καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν.

VII

Ὅταν δὲ τῶν ῥημάτων ἀλλάττῃ τὰ εἴδη τῶν παθητικῶν καὶ ποιητικῶν, οὕτω σχηματίζει | τὸν λόγον· 'οὔτε γὰρ 797
ἐκεῖνο κωλύει ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε·' τὸ γὰρ κωλύει ῥῆμα ἐνεργητικὸν ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ τοῦ κωλύεται παθητικοῦ ὄντος παρείληπται· ἦν δὲ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως τοιοῦτο· 'οὔτε γὰρ ἐκεῖνο κωλύεται ταῖς σπονδαῖς οὔτε τόδε.' καὶ ἔτι τὰ ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ λεγόμενα· 'τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις'· καὶ γὰρ <ἐν> τούτοις τὸ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἐνεργητικὸν

1 ἑβδόμῃ βίβλῳ τέθεικεν libri: hiatum perspexit Kruegerus et explevit. 2 τέθηκεν a: τέθ[ει]κεν cum litura Ps. 3 τὸ ὀλοφύρασθαι] Us, ἀπολοφύρασθαι PCD, ἀπολοφύρεσθαι G. 6 ποιεῖ P. 7 βίβλῳ libri (passim). 8 οὖν] γὰρ Θ | αἰτίαν] πρόφασιν Θ. 9 ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ Θ | οἶομαι] ἡγοῦμαι Θ. γινομένους] γιγνομένους καὶ φόβον παρέχοντας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Θ. 10 ἀναγκᾶσαι P | ἐς Θ. 13 ἀναγκᾶσαι P. 17 κωλύει ἐν ταῖς Θ | ταῖ (sed s supra lin. add. pr. m.) P. 23 ἐν CDs: om. PG.

which in the First Book he has mentioned in the course of a speech[1]. For to the verbs 'to circumvallate' and 'to lament' he has given the form of the nouns 'circumvallation' and 'lamentation.'

VI

But when conversely he turns his nouns into verbs, he produces such an expression as we find in the First Book when the cause of the war is under discussion. 'The most real cause, though that which was least acknowledged, I consider to have been the fact that the growth of the Athenian power compelled them to wage war[2].' His meaning is that the growth of the Athenian power caused a compulsion to the war. But for the nouns 'compulsion' and 'war' he has substituted the verbs 'to compel' and 'to wage war.'

VII

When he interchanges the passive and active forms of verbs, he writes in this fashion: 'for neither the one hinders by the truce nor the other[3].' The active verb 'hinders' is employed in place of the passive 'is hindered.' The real meaning of the expression is: 'for neither the one is hindered by the truce nor the other.' And so also with the words found in his introduction: 'for in the absence of commerce, they did not mingle freely with one another[4].' Here the active verb 'did

[1] Thucyd. I. 143.—As to ἡ οὐκ ἀποτείχισις, see note on p. 179 infra.
[2] Thucyd. I. 23. [3] Thucyd. I. 144. [4] Thucyd. I. 2.

ὑπάρχον ῥῆμα τοῦ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι παθητικοῦ ὄντος χώραν ἐπέχει.

VIII

Ὅταν δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ τὸ παθητικὸν παραλαμβάνῃ, τοῦτον σχηματίζει τὸν τρόπον· 'ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἐνηλλάγησαν'· βούλεται μὲν γὰρ δηλοῦν· 'ἡμῶν δὲ ὅσοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις συνήλλαξαν,' παρείληφεν δὲ τὸ ἐνηλλάγησαν παθητικὸν ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ ποιητικοῦ τοῦ συνήλλαξαν. καὶ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τούτῳ· 'τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ μᾶλλον κατῳκημένους'· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ ποιητικοῦ ῥήματος τοῦ κατῳκηκότας τὸ παθητικὸν παρείληφεν τὸ κατῳκημένους.

IX

| Παρὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐνικῶν τε καὶ πληθυντικῶν διαφοράς, 798
ὅταν ἐναλλάττῃ τὴν ἑκατέρου τούτων τάξιν, ἐνικὰ μὲν ἀντὶ πληθυντικῶν οὕτως ἐκφέρει· 'καὶ εἴ τῳ ἄρα παρέστηκεν τὸν μὲν Συρακόσιον, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐ πολέμιον εἶναι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ'· βούλεται μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Συρακοσίους λέγειν καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πεποίηκεν δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἑκάτερον ἐνικόν. καὶ ἐν οἷς φησιν· 'καὶ τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἕξομεν, μὴ ῥᾳδίας αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως'· τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐσχημάτικεν ἐνικῶς, οὐχὶ πληθυντικῶς. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐνικοῦ τὸ πληθυντικὸν παραλαμβάνει τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐξαλλάττων τὴν συνήθη φράσιν· κεῖται δὲ ἡ λέξις <ἐν> τῷ προοιμίῳ τοῦ ἐπιταφίου· 'μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε

1 *τοῦ ἐπιμιγνύμενοι* CDs: *τοῦ ἐπιμιγνυμένου* PG. 3, 4 *παραλαμβάν*[*η*] cum rasurae vestigiis P. 8, 9 *τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους* Θ. 9 et 11 *κατωικειμένους* P. 13 *ἐναλλάττῃ* sine ι P | *ἐνικὰ* G^2CDs: *ἡνίκα* PG¹a. 14 *εἴ τῳ*] *οὕτως* PGCD: ex Θ corr. Herwerdenus. 15 *αὐτὸν* PCD, *αὐτὸ* G: corr. Kruegerus. 15, 16 *τῷ ἀθηναίῳ* G, *τῶν ἀθηναίων* PDa, *τὸν ἀθηναῖον* Cs. 19 *ραιδίας* P, *ραιδίως* Thucydidis libri ABC(?)EFM. 23 *ἐν* CDs: om. PG.

not mingle' occupies the place of the passive 'were not mingled.'

VIII

When instead of the active he uses the passive, he constructs a sentence of this kind: 'all of us who had by this time been brought into contact with the Athenians[1].' His meaning is: 'all of us who dealt with the Athenians.' But he has used the passive form 'been brought into contact with' in place of the active 'dealt with.' And so with what next follows: 'those who had been settled more in the interior[2].' For instead of the active verb 'who had settled' he has used the passive 'who had been settled.'

IX

As regards the distinction of singular and plural, he changes the two numbers about and uses singular for plural thus: 'and if perchance it occurs to some one that not he, but the Syracusan, is the enemy of the Athenian[3].' He means 'Syracusans' and 'Athenians,' but he has put each of the proper names in the singular. Another instance is the passage: 'and we shall find the enemy more formidable, if his retreat is made difficult[4].' Here he has put 'enemies' in the singular, not in the plural. Deviating in the same way from customary language, he uses the plural in place of the singular. This mode of expression will be found in the first part of the Funeral Speech: 'for eulogies bestowed on others are

[1] Thucyd. I. 120.
[2] Thucyd. I. 120.
[3] Thucyd. VI. 78.
[4] Thucyd. IV. 10.

ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσιν περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν'· τὸ γὰρ ἕκαστος καὶ τὸ ἤκουσεν ἐνικά, τὰ δ' ἐπιφερόμενα τούτοις πληθυντικῶς ἐξενήνεκται· 'τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτὸν | φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν' 799
* * οὐ καθ' ἑνὸς λέγεσθαι πεφύκασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολλῶν.

X

Ἀρρενικῶν δὲ καὶ θηλυκῶν καὶ οὐδετέρων ἀντιμετατάξεις ἐκβεβηκυῖαι τῶν συνήθων σχημάτων αἱ τοιαίδε εἰσίν· οἷον τὴν μὲν ταραχὴν τάραχον καλῇ τὸ θηλυκὸν ἐκφέρων ἀρρενικῶς καὶ τὴν ὄχλησιν ὄχλον, τὴν δὲ βούλησιν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὸ βουλόμενον λέγῃ καὶ τὸ δυνάμενον· ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τέθηκεν, ὅτε τὴν εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπέστελλον στρατιάν· 'οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μὲν βουλόμενον οὐκ ἀφῃρέθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀχλώδους τῆς παρασκευῆς,' καὶ ἐν οἷς περὶ τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εἴρηκεν· 'ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί'· καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οὐδέτερον πεποίηκεν τὸ θηλυκόν· ἦν δὲ τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως τοιόνδε· 'ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυναστείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί.'

XI

Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὰς πτώσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ τῶν προσηγοριῶν καὶ τῶν μετοχῶν καὶ <τῶν> συναπτομένων | τούτοις 800

4 τῷ sine iota P 5 αὐτὸν P: αὐτῶν GCDs [Thucydidis libri: αὐτῶν EFm$_2$ schol. (τῶν ἐπαίνων δηλονότι), αὐτὸν ABCFGM]. 6 ante οὐ hiatum notavit Usenerus cl. πεφύκασιν v. 6 c. ἐξενήνεκται v. 4. 8 ἐκβεβηκυῖαι P. 9 οἷον CDs: οἱαν sic P, οἷαν Ga | καλῇ P. 11 λέγῃ P. 12 τέθεικεν libri. 13 Ἀθηναῖοι deest Thucydidi. 14 βουλόμενον] ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ Θ | οὐκαφηρέθησαν P, οὐκ ἐξῃρέθησαν Θ. 16, 17 τὸ ἐγχώριον Θ.
23 τῶν ante συναπτομένων ex apographo Laurentiano inseruit Herwerdenus.

endurable only so far as each person thinks that he is himself capable of any of the deeds of which he hears[1].' Here the words 'each person' and 'hears' are singular, but the following words are put in the plural: 'but when this point is passed, they begin to feel envy and incredulity[2].' * * Such expressions would naturally be used not of one person but of many.

X

Examples of the interchange of the three genders, in contravention of the ordinary rules of language, are such as these. He uses *τάραχος* in the masculine for *ταραχή* in the feminine, and similarly *ὄχλος* for *ὄχλησις*. In place of *τὴν βούλησιν* and *τὴν δύναμιν* he uses *τὸ βουλόμενον* and *τὸ δυνάμενον*. For instance, he says of the Athenians when they were considering the dispatch of their forces to Sicily: 'the Athenians were not robbed of their wishing (*τὸ βουλόμενον*) by the burden of the preparations[3].' There is a similar instance in the passage in which he refers to the Thessalians: '*ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυνασταείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί*[4].' Here he has made the feminine neuter. The real signification of the expression is: '*ὥστε εἰ μὴ δυνασταείᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰσονομίᾳ ἐχρῶντο τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ οἱ Θεσσαλοί.*'

XI

Sometimes he gives an unusual turn to the cases of proper nouns and appellatives and participles and the

[1] Thucyd. II. 35.
[2] Thucyd. II. 35.
[3] Thucyd. VI. 24.
[4] Thucyd. IV. 78.

ἄρθρων ἐξαλλάττει τοῦ συνήθους, οὕτως σχηματίζει [τῇ φράσει]· 'σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπούλου εὐνομίας οὐ προτιμήσαντες.' οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀκολούθως τῇ κοινῇ συνηθείᾳ σχηματίζοντες τὴν φράσιν τῷ τε θηλυκῷ γένει τῆς προσηγορίας τὸ θηλυκὸν ἂν ἔζευξαν μόριον, καὶ τὴν πτῶσιν [τῆς μετοχῆς] τὴν αἰτιατικὴν <ἂν> ἀντὶ τῆς γενικῆς ἔταξαν τὸν τρόπον τόνδε· 'σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕπουλον εὐνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσασαι.' οἱ δὲ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ τοῖς θηλυκοῖς συντάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὗτος πεποίηκεν, <καὶ> τὰς γενικὰς ἀντὶ τῶν αἰτιατικῶν πτώσεων παραλαμβάνοντες σολοικίζειν ἂν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λέγοιντο. καὶ ἔτι τὰ τοιαῦτα· 'καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν καταπλα|γέντες'· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ 801
τῆς δοτικῆς πτώσεως ἐσχηματίσθαι τὴν λέξιν ἤρμοττεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτιατικῆς· 'καὶ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες.' οὐδὲ γὰρ 'τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀργῇ φοβεῖσθαι' λέγοιτ' ἄν τις, ἀλλὰ 'τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀργήν.'

XII

Ἡ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκβεβηκυῖα τὸ κατάλληλον φράσις τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι· 'καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίνεται ἡμῖν

1 ὄντως P: οὕτως G, οὕτω CDs | τῇ φράσει PG: τὴν φράσιν CDs. delevit glossema Usenerus. 4 [Thucydidis libri: τῆς.....ὑπούλου εὐνομίας BS, τῆς .....ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν ex cr. b αὐτονομίας mg. B, τὴν.....ὕπουλον εὐνομίαν C, τὴν .....ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν AEFGM ‖ ἀπὸ B, ὑπὸ ACEFGMS.] 6 τῷ τε G_1s: τό τε PCD. 7 ἂν ἔζευξαν] Herwerdenus, ἀντέζευξαν PGCD. 8 τῆς μετοχῆς glossema vocis μόριον falso loco irrepsisse censet Usenerus | ἂν inseruit Herwerdenus. 13 συντάττοντες] Us, συνέταττον PCD | καὶ add. Us. 17 ἐσχιματεῖσθαι P. 20 λέγοι τἂν P. 21 ἐκβεβηκυία P.

articles attached to them. He will then frame such a sentence as this: 'for the states, having obtained a tempered liberty and security in their undertakings, advanced towards downright freedom, scorning the "specious pretence of law and order" offered by the Athenians[1].' Now writers whose syntax conforms to ordinary usage would have coupled the feminine form (sc. of the participle) with the feminine gender of the noun, and would have used the accusative instead of the genitive case as follows: '*σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπουλον εὐνομίαν οὐ προτιμήσασαι.*' Whereas authors who construct masculines with feminines, as Thucydides has done, and use genitives instead of accusatives, would be said by us to be guilty of solecism. This is true also of the following words: '*καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες*[2].' The sentence ought to have been constructed not in the dative case but in the accusative: '*καὶ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καταπλαγέντες.*' Just as no one would be said '*τῇ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀργῇ φοβεῖσθαι,*' but rather '*τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὀργήν.*'

XII

The style which neglects consistency in the tenses of verbs is of the following kind: 'And yet, if we should choose to face danger unconcernedly rather than after careful training, and with a courage born of habit rather than in obedience to law, we have the advantage of not being

[1] Thucyd. VIII. 64.

[2] Thucyd. IV. 10.

τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέροις τῶν ἀεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι'· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐθέλοιμεν ῥῆμα τοῦ μέλλοντός ἐστι χρόνου δηλωτικόν, τὸ δὲ περιγίνεται τοῦ παρόντος. ἀκόλουθον δ' ἂν ἦν, εἰ συνέζευξεν τῷ ἐθέλοιμεν τὸ περιέσται * * 'τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω, ὃ μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν σύμμαχον γίνεται· ὑποχωρήσασι δὲ καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὂν εὔπορον ἔσται.' τὸ μὲν γὰρ | γίνεται τοῦ παρόντος ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἔσται 802 τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου δηλωτικόν. γέγονεν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πτώσεις σχηματισμὸς ἀκατάλληλος· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς γενικῆς πτώσεως ἐξενήνοχεν τό τε μετοχικὸν ὄνομα τὸ μενόντων καὶ τὸ ἀντονομαστικὸν τὸ ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δοτικῆς τὸ ὑποχωρήσασιν· οἰκειότερον δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξενηνέχθαι πτῶσιν.

XIII

Ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τὸ σημαῖνον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαινομένου πράγματος τὴν ἀποστροφὴν ποιῆται ἢ πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σημαίνοντος, οὕτως σχηματίζει τὸν λόγον· 'τῶν δὲ Συρακοσίων ὁ δῆμος ἐν πολλῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριδι ἦσαν'· προθεὶς γὰρ ἐνικὸν ὄνομα τὸν δῆμον ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τούτου τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ σημαινόμενον πρᾶγμα πληθυντικὸν ὑπάρχον, τοὺς Συρακοσίους. καὶ αὖθις· 'Λεοντῖνοι γὰρ ἀπελθόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐκ Σικελίας μετὰ τὴν σύμβασιν πολίτας τε | ἐπεγράψαντο πολλοὺς 803 καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπενόει τὴν γῆν ἀναδάσασθαι'· ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ

1, 2 *εσαύτα ἐλθουσι* P | *ἀτολμοτέρους* Θ. 3 *ἔστι* P. 4 *περιγίγνεται* P. 5 *δὰν* P. 6 ante *τοῦ* excidit transitus formula. 7 *νομίζω* sic P | *ὃν* P. 12, 13 *τὸ μὲν ὄντων* P. 13 *καὶ τὸ* CDs: *καὶ* PG | *ἀντονομαστικὸν*] Us, *ἀντονομαστικὸν* Pa, *ἀντωνυμικὸν* CD, *ἀντωνυματικὸν* s. 16 *σημαῖνον* CDs: *σημαινόμενον* PG. 18 *σχιματίζει* P. 20, 21 *ἀπέστρεψεν* CDs: *ἐπέστρεψεν* Pa. 25 *τὴν γῆν ἐπενόει* Θ.

afflicted by troubles which are in the future, while we show ourselves, in the midst of troubles, to be no less daring than those who are always toiling[1].' Here *ἐθέλοιμεν* is a verbal form which indicates the future, while *περιγίνεται* indicates the present. The construction would have been regular if he had joined *περιέσται* with *ἐθέλοιμεν*. * * 'I consider the inaccessibility of the spot to be in our favour; but this helps us only if we stand our ground; if we retire, the position, though difficult in itself, will easily be mastered by the enemy[2].' Now *γίνεται* refers to the present, but *ἔσται* to the future. The cases also are irregularly constructed. For he has put the participle *μενόντων* and the pronoun *ἡμῶν* in the genitive case, but *ὑποχωρήσασιν* in the dative. Whereas the latter should, more properly, have corresponded in case to the two former.

XIII

When he makes the transition from the sense to the expression or from the expression to the sense, he uses a construction of the following kind: 'the populace of the Syracusans were at great odds with one another[3].' Although he begins with the singular noun 'populace,' he assimilates the expression to the sense, which is plural, 'the Syracusans.' And again: 'for when the Athenians quitted Sicily after the convention, the men of Leontini enrolled many new citizens, and the populace entertained the idea of redis-

[1] Thucyd. II. 39. [2] Thucyd. IV. 10. [3] Thucyd. VI. 35.

πληθυντικοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Λεοντῖνοι ἀπέστρεψεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὸ ἑνικὸν ὄνομα τὸν δῆμον. * * *

XIV

Πρόσωπα δὲ παρ' αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα γίνεται, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ Κορινθίων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους δημηγορίᾳ γέγονεν· ἀξιῶν γὰρ ὁ Κορίνθιος τοὺς προεστηκότας τῆς Πελοποννήσου φυλάττειν αὐτῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα πρὸς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, οἷον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον, ταῦτα λέγει· 'πρὸς τάδε βουλεύεσθε εὖ, καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον πειρᾶσθε μὴ ἐλάσσον' ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἢ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῖν παρέδοσαν'· τὸ γὰρ ἐξηγεῖσθαι νῦν τέθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προάγειν ἔξω τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἡγουμένους αὐτῆς· τοῦτο δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ μὲν ἀδύνατον ἦν συμβῆναι, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὴν ὑπάρχουσιν δυνατόν, καὶ βούλεται τοῦτο δηλοῦν.

Πράγματα δὲ ἀντὶ σωμάτων τὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεται· λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κορινθίων πρεσβευτοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συγκρίνοντος τά τε 'Αθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· 'οἱ | μέν γε νεωτεροποιοὶ καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς 804
καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι'· μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων τὸ σχῆμα τῆς λέξεως σῴζει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ προσώπων ἀμφοτέρων κείμενον. ἔπειτα ἀποστρέφεται κατὰ θάτερον τῶν μερῶν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἀντὶ τῶν σωμάτων πρᾶγμα γίνεται περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅταν φῇ· 'αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταὶ καὶ ἐν

2 nonnulla hic deesse perspexit Kruegerus, quibus illustranda fuerint, quae Dionysius supra p. 134, 13—19 proposuit. 8 πρὸστὰ δε P | βουλεύεσθε ΘCs: βουλεύεσθαι Pa | πειρασθε P. 9 ἑλασσον PG, ἑλαττον CDs, ἐλάσσω Θ. 18 γεωωτεροποιοι P. 19 ἂν γνῶσιν] ὃ ἀνάγνωσιν Pa, ἂν γνῶσιν GCDs, ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν codd. Θ (ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν Thucyd. edd. recc.). 20 σώζειν sine iota P (et v. 22). 26 ἐν etiam Thucydidis libri CEGM (ἐπὶ ABF).

tributing the land[1].' From the plural 'men of Leontini' he passes to the singular noun 'the populace.' * * * * * *

XIV

In his History things are treated as persons, as in the address of the Corinthians to the Lacedaemonians. The Corinthian speaker urges the leading men of the Peloponnese to maintain its prestige, in the eyes of external states, such as their fathers transmitted it to them. These are his words: 'You must, therefore, be well advised, and strive that the Peloponnese which you lead forth may be no less powerful than when your fathers left it to your care[2].' He has used the expression 'to lead forth' in the sense 'to guide the Peloponnese outside as its leaders.' Now this could not apply to the territory, but it can apply to its glory and its power, and this is what he means to say.

Persons are transformed into things by him in the following way. When the same Corinthian envoy, addressing the Lacedaemonians, compares the characters of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he says: 'They are innovators and quick to conceive plans and to execute their resolves. But your alertness is directed to preserving what you have and to forming no fresh resolve, and to refraining even from the execution of what is absolutely essential[3].' Now up to this point the construction is normal, the two persons forming its basis. But afterwards in the second clause the expression is changed, and instead of persons a thing is used in reference to the Lacedaemonians, when he says: 'and once more they are daring even beyond their power, and venturesome beyond

[1] Thucyd. v. 4. [2] Thucyd. i. 71.
[3] Thucyd. i. 70.

τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι'· τὸ γὰρ ὑμέτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑμεῖς παρείληπται, πρᾶγμα ὑπάρχον ἀντὶ τοῦ σώματος.

XV

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασίν τε καὶ νοήμασιν αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις πολλαὶ γινόμεναι καὶ μόλις ἐπὶ τὸ τέλος ἀφικνούμεναι, δι' ἃς ἡ φράσις δυσπαρακολούθητος γίνεται, πλεῖσται μέν εἰσιν καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν· | ἀρκέσουσι 805
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου δύο ληφθεῖσαι μόναι, ἥ τε δηλοῦσα τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀρχαίων τῆς Ἑλλάδος πραγμάτων καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδοῦσα· 'τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδὲ ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες, οὔτε γῆν φυτεύοντες, ἄδηλον ὃν ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἅμ' ἀτειχίστων ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται· τῆς τε ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐπικρατήσειν οἰόμενοι οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο' (<εἰ γὰρ τὸ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο> προσέθηκεν τῇ πρώτῃ περιόδῳ καὶ ἐσχημάτισεν οὕτως· 'τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν <οὔτε κατὰ θάλασσαν>, νεμόμενοι δὲ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο,' φανερωτέραν ἂν ἐποίει τὴν διάνοιαν· τῇ δὲ παρεμβολῇ τῶν μεταξὺ πραγμάτων πολλῶν ὄντων ἀσαφὴ καὶ δυσπαρακολούθητον

2 ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι CDs: ἐνδε απάρξαι P. 4 ὑπάρχων P. 8 πλεῖστα libri: corr. Kruegerus | καθόλην PD. 13 αὐτῶν s: αὐτῶν PGD. 14 οὐδὲ Θ. 15 ον ποτέ P: ὃν ὁπότε ΘGCDs. ἅμα τειχιστῶν P, ἄμα ἀτειχίστων GCD: ἀτειχίστων ἅμα Θas. 16 τε PGCD: τε καθ' ἡμέραν Θas. 17 ἂν ὁμοίως (ἀνομοίωσ P) ὡς (om. CD) ἐπικρατήσειν οἰόμενοι PGCDa: ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν Θs. ἀπανίσταντο Θs hic et infra v. 22. 18 εἰ... ..ἀνίσταντο addidit Usenerus | προσέθηκεν] Us, προστεθὲν PGCD. 19 ἐσχημάτισεν] Us, σχηματισθὲν PGCD. 21 οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν G: om. PCD: οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης Θ | δὲ] τε G ut Θ. 23 ἐποίηι rasurae vestigio supra η relicto P.

their better judgment, and full of hope in the hour of danger; but your way (*τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον*) is to act below the measure of your power and to trust not even the safe conclusions of your judgment[1].' Here 'your way' is used instead of 'you,' a thing taking the place of a person.

XV

In his enthymemes and sentences the parentheses are numerous and reach their conclusion with difficulty. This makes the meaning hard to follow. There are many of them in every part of the History; but two only, taken from the Introduction, will suffice. One is the passage which shows the weakness of Primitive Greece and assigns the causes. 'For in the absence of commerce, they did not mingle freely with one another whether by land or over sea: each tribe possessing property enough of its own to support existence and having no superfluous goods; none cultivating the land, for it was uncertain when some invader would come and rob them, as there were no fortifications to protect them: and feeling that they could command the bare means of subsistence everywhere alike, they readily migrated[2].' If he had added the word 'readily migrated' to the first period and shaped it thus, 'In the absence of commerce they did not mingle freely with one another by land or by sea, but each tribe possessing enough property of its own to support existence, they migrated readily,' he would have made his meaning clearer, but by the insertion of many parenthetical clauses he has made it obscure and hard to follow. The second passage

[1] Thucyd. I. 70. [2] Thucyd. I. 2.

πεποίηκεν), καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς Εὐρυσθέως στρατείας ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἀτ|τικὴν ἥδε· 'Εὐρυσθέως ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν 806
ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ
ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ
5 τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεῖ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν
φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον· καὶ
ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν
Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν
δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα τῶν Μυκη-
10 ναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχεν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα
παραλαβεῖν.'

XVI

Ἐν οἷς δὲ σκολιὰ καὶ πολύπλοκος καὶ δυσεξέλικτος ἡ
τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων κατασκευὴ γίνεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
ἔχει παρ' αὐτῷ· κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ ἡ λέξις· 'τὴν
15 δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες
καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθη-
σαν τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν δ' ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ
ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν | ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ 807
ἤδη ὁρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· ἐν τῷ
20 ἀμύνεσθαι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι
τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι
ὑπέμειναν καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς
δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.' τοιαῦτά ἐστι
καὶ τὰ περὶ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰρημένα ὑπὸ τοῦ συγγραφέως
25 ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ βύβλῳ· 'ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς βεβαιότατα
δὴ φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἐς αὐτὸ
μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος θαυμάσαι. οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ

1 εὐρύσθεως P ut v. 2 et 4. στρατιᾶς libri: corr. H. Stephanus. 2 ἥδε s: ἡδὲ Pa | ἐν P: μὲν ἐν ΘCs. 8 μηκυναίων P. 10 ὅσων CDs: ὡστῶν PG. 15 ποθεινωτέραν P. 16 τὸν δὲ P | νομήσαντες P. 17 τοὺς] μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Θ. 19 ὁρωμένους φησὶν PG: corr. s. 19, 20 ἐν τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι] καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ Θ. 20 ἢ τὸ Θ. 27 θαυμᾶσαι P.

is that which refers to the invasion of Attica by Eurystheus. 'Eurystheus was slain in Attica by the Heracleidae. His maternal uncle was Atreus, to whom as being his kinsman Eurystheus entrusted the kingdom of Mycenae when he went to the wars. Atreus had been banished by his father because of the murder of Chrysippus. When Eurystheus failed to return, Atreus succeeded to the sovereignty over the Mycenaeans and over all others who had been under the rule of Eurystheus. He did so at the desire of the Mycenaeans, who feared the Heracleidae. He had also courted the multitude, and was thought to be a man of power[1].'

XVI

The plan of his enthymemes is sometimes tortuous and involved and hard to unravel, as in the following passage of the Funeral Speech: 'They found a dearer delight in the punishment of their foes; danger thus incurred they considered the noblest of all, and wished to subordinate all other aims to that of vengeance. They committed the uncertainty of success to hope, but in action deemed it right to trust themselves as concerning what was now before their eyes. Thinking it right to suffer in self-defence rather than save their lives by submission, they escaped a shameful reputation by exposing themselves to the brunt of the fray; and in a moment of time they were removed, at the height of their fortune, from the scene of their glory rather than their fear[2].' Of this kind also is the characterisation of Themistocles given by the historian in his First Book: 'For Themistocles exhibited his natural force in the most convincing way, and in this respect he was especially worthy of admiration beyond any rival. Through

[1] Thucyd. I. 9. As to the translation, see p. 181 infra. [2] Thucyd. II. 42.

οὔτε προμαθὼν εἰς αὐτὴν οὐθὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής· καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε· ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος εἴη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο· τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα. καὶ | τὸ 808
ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν φύσεως μὲν δυνάμει, μελέτης δὲ βραχύτητι κράτιστος δὴ οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν τὰ δέοντα ἐγένετο.'

XVII

Οἱ δὲ μειρακιώδεις σχηματισμοὶ τῶν ἀντιθέτων τε καὶ παρομοιώσεων καὶ παρισώσεων, ἐν οἷς οἱ περὶ τὸν Γοργίαν μάλιστα ἐπλεόνασαν, ἥκιστα τῷ χαρακτῆρι τούτῳ προσήκοντες, αὐστηρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ τοῦ κομψοῦ πλεῖστον ἀφεστηκότι, τοιοῦτοί τινές εἰσι παρὰ τῷ συγγραφεῖ· 'φαίνεται γὰρ ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Ἑλλὰς οὐ πάλαι βεβαίως οἰκουμένη.' καὶ ἔτι δέ· 'οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί· τὸ δ' ὑμέτερον τῆς τε δυνάμεως ἐνδεᾶ πρᾶξαι τῆς τε γνώμης μηδὲ τοῖς βεβαίοις πιστεῦσαι, τῶν δὲ δεινῶν μηδέποτε οἴεσθαι ἀπολυθήσεσθαι'· καὶ ἐν οἷς τὰς καταλαβούσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα συμφορὰς διὰ τὰς στάσεις ἐπεξέρχεται τοιάδε γράφων· 'τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη· μέλλησις δὲ προμηθὴς δειλία εὐπρεπής, τὸ δὲ σῶφρον πρόσχημα | τοῦ ἀνάνδρου, καὶ τὸ εἰς ἅπαν 809
ξυνετὸν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀργόν.' πολλὰ τοιαῦτά τις ἂν εὕροι

1 ἐς Θ | οὐδὲν Θ. 5 οἷο στεων P | εἴη κρῖναι Θs: ἐπικρῖναι PGD, ἐπικρίναι C. 6 προεώραι P, προεώρα μάλιστα Θ. 10 παρομοίων libri: corr. Herwerdenus. περι το γοργίαν P. 11 τούτω GCDs: τούτου τῷ Pa. 12 προσηκόντες P | κόμψου P. 14 ἑλλὰς καλουμένη ΘCDs. 16 post κινδυνευταί, verba καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες ex Θ (cp. p. 150, 26 sq. supra) add. CDs. 17 ἐνδεὰ P. 18 δὲ] τε Θ. 21 ἀνδρία Θ. 23 προσ σχημα P. τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα Θ et Δ p. 888, 4 R | πρὸς ἅπαν Θ et Δ p. 888, 5 R | ἐπίπαν libri. 24 et p. 158, 1 τίς ἂν εὕροι διόλησ P.

his native shrewdness, and unaided by knowledge acquired previously or at the time, he surpassed all others whether in judging present needs on the spur of the moment or in conjecturing the events of the most distant future. He had the power of explaining whatever he had in hand, and was well able to form a competent opinion of things of which he had no experience. He could foresee the better or worse course, while it was still in the dim future. In a word, through sheer natural capacity he could, however short the time for preparation might be, excel all men in improvising the right thing to be done[1].'

XVII

The affected figures of *antithesis* and *paromoeosis* and *parisosis*, in which Gorgias and his followers were particularly fertile, little become this style, which has an austere cast and is very far removed from preciosity. But instances of the following kind are found in the History of Thucydides: 'For it is clear that what is denominated Hellas now-a-days was not securely populated in ancient days[2].' And again: 'They are daring beyond their power, and venturesome beyond their better judgment; but your way is to act below the measure of your power, and to trust not even the safe conclusions of your judgment, and to think you will never escape from the dangers that threaten you[3].' Another instance will be found in the passage in which he describes, in the following terms, the calamities which had overtaken Greece in consequence of party-spirit: 'For reckless audacity was considered loyal courage; cautious hesitation was specious cowardice; moderation was the cloak of unmanliness; universal wisdom was general ineffectiveness[4].' Many passages of this kind will be

[1] Thucyd. I. 138.
[2] Thucyd. I. 2.
[3] Thucyd. I. 70.
[4] Thucyd. III. 82.

δι' ὅλης αὐτοῦ τῆς ἱστορίας λεγόμενα, ἱκανὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα δείγματος ἕνεκα εἰρῆσθαι.

Ἔχεις, ὦ φίλε Ἀμμαῖε, τὰ παρατηρήματα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς ἐξητασμένα πραγματείας, ὡς ἐπεζήτεις.

3 ammaie P | κα[θ] cum litura P¹. 5 ἐπεζήτεις. εὐτυχῶς ἀμμαίῳ CD.

found throughout his History; but those already given will serve as a sample of the rest.

Thus you have, my dear Ammaeus, the observations examined, as you desired, one by one, according to the ordinary method.

NOTES.

Throughout the Notes and Glossary references are given to the lines as well as to the pages of the text of the *Three Letters*, e.g. 68 14. The abbreviation π. ὑψ. (περὶ ὕψους) = *Longinus on the Sublime.*

FIRST LETTER TO AMMAEUS.

The greater part of such notes as are required for the *First Letter to Ammaeus* can be most conveniently presented in the form of a Chronological Table. References to lines and pages of the Letter are given in the case of events dated by Dionysius himself.

Table of Dates in the Lives of Demosthenes and Aristotle.

ἀναγκαία πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ τῶν χρόνων διάγνωσις.
Dionys. *de Dinarcho* c. 9.

Olympiad and Archon	B.C.	
99, 1. Diotrephes	384	Birth of Aristotle, 60 14. Birth of Demosthenes. This is the date now generally accepted for the birth of Demosthenes: see A. Schaefer, *Dem. u. seine Zeit* i. 269 n. 2. The date assigned by Dionysius (56 19) is 381 B.C. He expressly says (60 15) that Aristotle was τρισὶν ἔτεσι Δημοσθένους πρεσβύτερος.
99, 3. Evander	382	Birth of Philip of Macedon.
103, 2. Polyzelus	367	Aristotle comes to Athens, 60 17.

Olympiad and Archon	B.C.	
104, 1. Timocrates	364	In this archonship Demosthenes, according to Dionysius (56 20), entered upon his seventeenth year. In the lacuna marked on 56 21, Dionysius possibly assigned the *Speeches against Aphobus* to this period.
104, 3. Molon	362	*Against Onetor.*
105, 2. Eucharistus	359	*Callicles, Conon*, etc. (approximate date).
106, 1. Elpines	356	Birth of Alexander.
106, 2. Callistratus	355	*Against Androtion*, 56 21—24. *Against the Law of Leptines*, 58 1.
106, 3. Diotimus	354	*On the Navy Boards*, 58 5.
106, 4. Thudemus	353	*Against Timocrates*, 58 12. *For the Megalopolitans*, 58 13.
107, 1. Aristodemus	352	*Against Aristocrates*, 58 18. *First Philippic*, 58 15. "Dionysius of Halicarnassus is mistaken in placing the *First Philippic* earlier than the *Aristocrates*, though he is right in assigning both speeches to the same year, Ol. 107, 1 (352—1 B.C.)." Sandys, *First Philippic and Olynthiacs of Demosthenes*, p. 7.
107, 2. Theellus	351	*For the Rhodians*, 58 20. Probably this speech should rather be dated some two years earlier (S. H. Butcher *Demosthenes* pp. 43, 44; J. B. Bury *History of Greece* p. 880).
107, 3. Apollodorus	350	*For Phormion*, etc.
107, 4. Callimachus	349	*Olynthiacs I, II, III*: 58 24. Dionysius arranges (58 26—60 1) the three Olynthiacs in the order II, III, I. The point at issue is fully discussed by Sandys *op. cit.* pp. lxiii—lxvii. See also *ad Amm.* i. c. 9. Cp. schol. Demosth. *or. Olynth.* ii. init. p. 71, 1 Dind. τοῦτον (τὸν λόγον) Διονύσιος προτάττει τῶν Ὀλυνθιακῶν, ἄρχοντάς τέ τινας καταλέγων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου πιστούμενος ἐκ περιχαρείας ληφθέντος. Καικίλιος δὲ ἀντιλέγει πρῶτον ἀξιῶν τὸν πρῶτον νομιζόμενον. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ἱστορίᾳ κεῖται καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἀκριβῆ τὸν ἔλεγχον ἔχει, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὸ προοίμιον οὐκ αὐταρκες εἰς ἀπόδειξιν. *Against Meidias*, 60 2.
108, 1. Theophilus	348	Aristotle upon the death of Plato leaves Athens, proceeding to Atarneus, which was ruled by Hermias, 60 19. Fall of Olynthus, 70 18.

Olympiad and Archon	B.C.	
108, 2. Themistocles	347	'*Fifth of Demosthenes' Speeches against Philip*,' 70 20. By the fifth speech Dionysius means *Philipp.* i. 30 ff. On his division of the First Philippic into two parts, see Sandys, *First Philippic and Olynthiacs of Demosthenes*, pp. 101, 102.
108, 3. Archias	346	*On the Peace*, 72 2.
108, 4. Eubulus	345	Aristotle retires to Mytilene, 60 21.
109, 1. Lyciscus	344	*Second Philippic*, 72 4 ('the seventh of the speeches against Philip').
109, 2. Pythodotus	343	Aristotle with Philip, as Alexander's tutor, 60 22. (Hegesippus) *On Halonnesus*, 72 9 ('the eighth of the speeches against Philip'). *On the Embassy*, 72 11.
109, 3. Sosigenes	342	*On the Chersonese*, 72 14 ('the ninth of the speeches against Philip'). *Third Philippic*, 72 20 ('the tenth of the speeches against Philip').
109, 4. Nicomachus	341	[Demosth.] *Fourth Philippic*, 72 22 ('the eleventh of the speeches against Philip'). Dionysius clearly regards this and the next-mentioned speech as genuine.
110, 1. Theophrastus	340	[Demosth.] *Orat. ad Philippi Epist* 1., 72 29 ('the last of the speeches against Philip'). End of Philip's convention with the Athenians, 74 23.
110, 2. Lysimachides	339	Philip sends ambassadors to Thebes, 78 29.
110, 3. Chaerondas	338	Battle of Chaeroneia.
111, 1. Pythodemus	336	Alexander succeeds Philip.
111, 2. Evaenetus	335	Aristotle returns to Athens and teaches in the Lyceum, 60 25.
112, 3. Aristophon	330	*On the Crown*, 82 5. Victory of Alexander at Arbela, 82 7.
113, 4. Anticles	325	Demosthenes accused of corruption, 84 18.
114, 2. Cephisodorus	323	Death of Alexander, 60 27.
114, 3. Philocles	322	Death of Demosthenes. Death of Aristotle, 62 1.

For summary of this letter, see p. 25 supra. For *Ammaeus*, p. 38 supra and *Classical Review* xiv. p. 440.

52 16 Kiessling (*Rhein. Mus.* xxiii. 254) supports his reading καὶ τῶν ἠθῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν λόγων by the apt quotation of Dionys. Hal. *de Thucyd.* c. 52, τῆς ἐπιεικείας, ᾗ κεχρήμεθα καὶ περὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ περὶ τὰ ἤθη.

52 19 In the older texts of Dionysius, this and the following lines have been re-written as follows: ἢ μαθὼν ὅτι προτεροῦσι τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων αἱ Ἀριστοτέλους τέχναι, ἐκὼν μεταδοξάσω· ἢ τοὐναντίον φωράσας τὴν δόξαν ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἔσχον βεβαιώσω καὶ τὸν ἄλλως ἐγνωκότα κτλ. Reiske (vi. 1130) suggests: ἵνα ἢ τὴν δόξαν, ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἔσχον βεβαίως, ἐῶ, μαθὼν ὅτι.....

54 20 See p. 41 supra.

56 4 The words here quoted had become proverbial. They formed the commencement of the famous palinode (Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 A) of Stesichorus:—

οὐκ ἔστ' ἔτυμος λόγος οὗτος·
οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν ναυσὶν εὐσέλμοις,
οὐδ' ἵκεο πέργαμα Τροίας.

58 1 περὶ τῶν ἀτελειῶν, i.e. Πρὸς Λεπτίνην.

58 4 οἱ τοὺς ῥητορικοὺς πίνακας συντάξαντες: cp. p. 42 supra.

58 17 φυγαδικῶν τριηρῶν: the Greek seems to suggest the sense "galleys manned by refugees" rather than "flying squadron." But the words used by Demosthenes (*Philipp.* i. 25) are ταχείας τριήρεις δέκα. Possibly γαδικῶν is an old corruption of ταχειῶν.

58 20 Θέελλος, not Θεσσαλός, is the name of this archon: cp. *Corp. Inscr. Att.* ii. 1, 43.

58 23 τοῦ τρίτου. The Greek inclusive reckoning: the date of Callimachus being 349 B.C., of Theellus 351 B.C.

60 2 συνετάξατο seems to imply that Demosthenes wrote, but did not deliver, the speech *Against Meidias*. The reference in χειροτονίαν is to the vote of censure for contempt of the festival (ἀδικεῖν περὶ τὴν ἑορτήν) passed upon Meidias by the public assembly.

60 10 Dionysius' authority in c. 5 may have been the *Chronica* of Apollodorus, for whom see W. Christ *Gesch. der griech. Litteratur*[3] p. 608, and Pauly-Wissowa i. 2857.

62 12 The Μεθοδικά is included by Diogenes Laert. in his list of the works of Aristotle. It was probably a logical treatise. It is

mentioned again in c. 8, and in the passage which is quoted from the *Rhetoric* in c. 7.

62 20 By 'instruction' (διδασκαλία) Aristotle means exact or demonstrative proof. The sense here is, 'to speak with scientific accuracy is the part of one who is conveying instruction in the science.'

62 24 ἔντευξις = 'intercourse,' 'way of dealing with': cp. Ar. *Metaph.* iii. 5, 1009 A, ἔστι δ' οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος πρὸς πάντας τῆς ἐντεύξεως· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πειθοῦς δέονται, οἱ δὲ βίας.

64 2 Mr Mathews suggests, with much force, that the text given by Dionysius should stand [with the exception of τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον φαινόμενος συλλογισμός, which words may have arisen from an insertion at the wrong place of the questionably Aristotelian τὸ δὲ φαινόμενος συλλογισμός, a corruption due to ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνυσθαι], the general meaning of the passage being: "And inasmuch as rhetoric is demonstrative (or ostensibly demonstrative), therefore just as in the analytical theory [formal logic] part is induction, and part deduction, so also here: for argument by analogy is a kind of induction, and argument supported by reasons is a kind of deduction: in fact, I call 'enthymeme' rhetorical syllogism, and 'example' rhetorical induction. Everyone who tries to carry conviction does so by demonstration, adducing examples or reasoned arguments, and in no other way: so if we grant that every demonstration is of necessity either inductive or deductive (and this is clear from the *Analytics*), it must be that each [ἑκάτερον, not ἕκαστον] division of the one subject is identical with one division of the other (i.e. the difference between theory and practice is only formal, and the essential divisions of each must agree)."

66 17 Dionysius has in mind Agathon's lines as quoted in Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 24:—

> τάχ' ἄν τις εἰκὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἶναι λέγοι,
> βροτοῖσι πολλὰ τυγχάνειν οὐκ εἰκότα.

Cp. article on 'Aristophanes and Agathon' in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* xx. pp. 44—56.

66 20 For full notes on this and the other passages quoted from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* by Dionysius in the course of this Letter, reference may be made to Cope's commentary (revised and edited by Dr J. E. Sandys). For κατ' ἀναλογίαν ('by analogy or resemblance,' 'proportionally'), see Ar. *Poetics* xxi. 7, where metaphors are defined and

subdivided: *μεταφορὰ δέ ἐστιν ὀνόματος ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιφορὰ ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴδους ἐπὶ εἶδος ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον.....τὸ δὲ ἀνάλογον λέγω, ὅταν ὁμοίως ἔχῃ τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ τὸ τέταρτον πρὸς τὸ τρίτον.*

The comparison here attributed to Pericles is not found in the Funeral Oration as given in the second book of Thucydides; possibly it was used by Pericles on another similar occasion (but cp. Cope, *Aristotle's Rhetoric* i. 145, 146). Dionysius (or his manuscripts) omits the words "so Leptines said, with reference to the Lacedaemonians, that he would not have the Athenians look calmly on when Greece was robbed of one of her eyes," for which words see Cope iii. 112.—The conjecture ἄγχοντα (cp. Ael. *de Nat. Animalium* x. 48, *εἰς πνῖγμα ἄγχων*) seems to account for both *ἀγαγόντα* and *ἔχοντα*.

68 6 *Philochorus:* flor. 306—260 B.C. For his *History of Attica*, see W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*[3] pp. 553, 554; for the *Atthides* generally, Müller *F. H. G.* i. lxxxi ff., 359 ff.

68 10 The hiatus of eighteen letters at this point is not recognised in BPs. Possibly, as A. Schaefer suggests (*Dem. u. seine Zeit* ii.[2] p. 132 n. 1), the name of the proposer has fallen out, e.g. *Δημοσθένους γράψαντος*.

70 7 *τρεῖς δὲ Ἑλληνικάς.* The three speeches thus indicated are: *On the Symmories*, *For the Megalopolitans*, and *For the Rhodians*. They bore the title 'Hellenic,' in contradistinction to those against Philip.—The five speeches to which reference is made in the following clause are the *Androtion*, *Leptines*, *Meidias*, *Aristocrates*, *Timocrates*.

74 9 *ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἁρμόδιον*, sc. *δίκῃ* or *ἀπολογίᾳ*. This case is also known as *ἡ περὶ τῆς εἰκόνος δίκη*. It belongs to the year 371 B.C., and turns on the award of a statue to Iphicrates in honour of his defeat of the Spartan *mora* in 392 B.C. The grant was opposed by Harmodius, a descendant of the famous liberator, against whom Iphicrates defended himself. The speech Iphicrates delivered was, according to some critics, composed by Lysias; but this view Dionysius rejects, in the *de Lysia* c. 12, on grounds of style and chronology. Aristotle here appears to attribute it to Iphicrates himself.

78 10 It is worth special remark that the manuscripts of Dionysius, as well as those of Demosthenes, give *συμπνευσόντων ἡμῶν ἄν*.

80 23 "This is the only place in which the *name* of Demosthenes appears in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. See on this subject Introd.

[i.e. Cope's *Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric*] pp. 45, 46, and note 2. In ii. 23, 18, a few words of his are quoted, but without the author's name. The Demosthenes mentioned in iii. 4, 3 is probably not the great orator." Cope, *Aristot. Rhet.* ii. p. 316.

82 11 ἐντετευχώς: the form ἐντετυχηκώς is found in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 13.

84 1 After τοιοῦτον the passage runs thus in Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 23, 3: καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀλκμαίωνι τῷ Θεοδέκτου

μητέρα δὲ τὴν σὴν οὔ τις ἐστύγει βροτῶν;

φησὶ δ' ἀποκρινόμενος

ἀλλὰ διαλαβόντα χρὴ σκοπεῖν·

ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀλφεσιβοίας πῶς, ὑπολαβών φησι

τὴν μὲν θανεῖν ἔκριναν, ἐμὲ δὲ μὴ κτανεῖν.

The point is that it was not for Alcmaeon, her son, to slay Eriphyle, even though she had caused the death of his father.

84 3 καὶ οἷον ἡ περὶ.....Νικάνορα. "This is cited by Dion. Halicarn., Ep. i. *ad Amm.* c. 12, as a proof that Aristotle was acquainted with and quoted the speeches of Demosthenes, referring it to the case (against Aeschines) for the Crown. In doing so he omits περί. Of course ἡ περὶ Δημοσθένους δίκη cannot have this meaning: and it is most probable that it is not the orator that is here referred to, but Thucydides' general, or some other person of the name. Neither is anything known of Nicanor and his murderers," Cope, *Aristot. Rhet.* ii. p. 244. It seems probable that the words καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων Νικάνορα have been wrongly repeated in the text of Dionysius. In the original passage of the *Rhetoric* it has sometimes been thought that Νικόδημον should be read in place o Νικάνορα (cp. A. Schaefer, *Dem. u. s. Zeit*[a] ii. 104 n. 4).

84 17 περὶ τῆς τῶν δώρων. For the ellipse, cp. 74 9 supra. Dionysius did not believe (cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 57) in the genuineness of an ἀπολογία τῶν δώρων attributed to Demosthenes.

LETTER TO POMPEIUS.

Summary, p. 27 supra. *Gnaeus Pompeius Geminus*, p. 38 supra and *Classical Review* xiv. p. 439.

88 5 *Zeno*, p. 38 supra and *Classical Review* xiv. p. 440.

90 6 *ἧς οὐδὲν χρῆμα τιμιώτερον.* Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 2, *τῶν ἀπὸ παντὸς τοῦ βελτίστου κρινόντων τὰ πράγματα καὶ μηδὲν ἡγουμένων χρῆμα τιμιώτερον τῆς ἀληθείας.* An iambic fragment: cp. Soph. *Antig.* 702 for the form. Another poetical reminiscence on 100 17 infra.

90 9 *Zoilus:* cp. *π, ὕψ.* p. 243. Mentioned also p. 96 5 supra, and in *de Isaeo* c. 20, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 8. Cp. Ael. *Var. Hist.* xi. 10: *Ζωΐλος ὁ Ἀμφιπολίτης, ὁ καὶ εἰς Ὅμηρον γράψας καὶ εἰς Πλάτωνα καὶ εἰς ἄλλους, Πολυκράτους μὲν ἀκουστὴς ἐγένετο· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν ἔγραψε τὴν κατὰ Σωκράτους.*

90 20 If *φησίν* is read with the MSS., it may be interpreted "it will be said": cp. *ait* and *inquit* introducing objections.

92 5 Cp. Herod. vii. 10, 1.

92 24 With *εἰς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν* cp. a passage in the *Phaedrus* 269 E which Dionysius may have had in mind: *κινδυνεύει, ὦ ἄριστε, εἰκότως ὁ Περικλῆς πάντων τελεώτατος εἰς τὴν ῥητορικὴν γενέσθαι.*—For the Λόγος Ἐρωτικός and the question of its genuineness, see Sandys *Orat.* xiv. n. 3, and Jebb *Att. Or.* i. 305—310 (also pp. 165, 166 *ibid.*).

94 9 Dionysius may be referring specially to the following passages: Thrasymachus, *Rep.* i. 336 ff.; Prodicus, *Protag.* 314 ff.; Protagoras, *ibid.*; Hippias, *ibid.* (cp. the *Lesser Hippias*); Gorgias and Polus, *Gorgias* 461 ff.; Parmenides, *Soph.* 242 (hardly *Theaet.* 183 E); Theodorus, *Phaedrus* 266 ff.

94 27 For *γενεά* as a chronological term, see Dodwell's elaborate discussion in Reiske, *Dionys. Halic. Antiq. Rom.* i. pp. xlvi ff.

96 4, 5 *Cephisodorus:* cp. pp. 41, 54 supra, *de Isocr.* c. 18, *de Isaeo* c. 19. Athen. ii. 60 E: *Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μαθητὴς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλους, τέσσαρα δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα βυβλία, ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ὡς οὐ ποιήσαντι λόγου ἄξιον τὸ παροιμίας ἀθροῖσαι, Ἀντιφάνους ὅλον ποιήσαντος δρᾶμα τὸ ἐπιγραφόμενον Παροιμίαι.*—*Theopompus.* Athen. xi. 508 C: *καὶ γὰρ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος ἐν τῷ κατὰ τῆς Πλάτωνος*

διατριβῆς "τοὺς πολλοὺς (φησὶ) τῶν διαλόγων αὐτοῦ ἀχρείους καὶ ψευδεῖς ἄν τις εὕροι· ἀλλοτρίους δὲ τοὺς πλείους, ὄντας ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστίππου διατριβῶν, ἐνίους δὲ κἀκ τῶν Ἀντισθένους, πολλοὺς δὲ κἀκ τῶν Βρύσωνος τοῦ Ἡρακλεώτου."—*Zoilus*: see preceding page.—*Hippodamas*: of uncertain identity.—*Demetrius*: Demetrius Phalereus, p. 98 l. 23 supra.

98 15 ἐν τῇ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν πραγματείᾳ ῥητόρων: p. 6 supra.

98 17 The points in which this quotation differs from the original in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* cc. v—vii. deserve attention because of the light they throw on Dionysius' views of exact reproduction.

98 19 καθάπερ εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον: probably in the lost portion of the *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.*

98 4 The semi-poetical word αὖρα, which occurs again at the end of c. 4, may well be a reminiscence of Plato: ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐν ὑγιεινῷ τόπῳ οἰκοῦντες οἱ νέοι ἀπὸ παντὸς ὠφελῶνται, ὁπόθεν ἂν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων ἢ πρὸς ὄψιν ἢ πρὸς ἀκοήν τι προσβάλῃ ὥσπερ αὖρα φέρουσα ἀπὸ χρηστῶν τόπων ὑγίειαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων λανθάνῃ εἰς ὁμοιότητά τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ ξυμφωνίαν τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ ἄγουσα. Plat. *Rep.* iii. 401 C.

98 22 καὶ πολὺς ὁ τελέτης (= τελεστής, 'mystery-monger') ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις παρ' αὐτῷ. This remarkable expression may be illustrated by the following passages: πολὺ τὸ παθητικὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις εἶναι δεῖ.....πᾶς ὁ τῶν τοιούτων σχημάτων κόσμος πολύς ἐστι παρ' αὐτῷ, *de Isocr.* c. 2. τούτων γὰρ τῶν λήρων ἱερεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ, *de Comp.* c. 4. ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὰς τελετὰς τοῦ λόγου, *ibid.* c. 25 (quoted on p. 19 supra).

102 4 The passage which immediately follows the words εἴληφε τὸ βυβλίον in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 7 is: ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ συγγράμματι τούτῳ πολλὴν μὲν ὥραν ἔχει καὶ χαρίτων ἐστὶ μεστὰ τὰ πρῶτα ταυτί· 'Ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε, ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν; Παρὰ Λυσίου, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦ Κεφάλου. πορεύομαι δὴ πρὸς περίπατον ἔξω τείχους. συχνὸν γὰρ ἐκεῖ διέτριψα χρόνον καθήμενος ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ' μέχρι τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τοῦ Λυσιακοῦ λόγου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἕως τινός. εἶθ', ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀέρος εὐδίου καὶ σταθεροῦ πολὺς ἄνεμος καταρραγείς, ταράττει τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς φράσεως ἐς ποιητικὴν ἐκφέρων ἀπειροκαλίαν, ἐνθένδ' ἀρξάμενος· 'Ἄγετε δή, Μοῦσαι, εἴτε δι' ᾠδῆς εἶδος λέγεται εἴτε διὰ γένος τὸ Λιγύων μουσικόν ταύτην ἔσχετε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ξύμ μοι λάβεσθε τοῦ μῦθου.' ὅτι δὲ ψόφοι ταῦτ' εἰσὶ καὶ διθύραμβοι, κόμπον ὀνομάτων πολὺν νοῦν δὲ ὀλίγον ἔχοντες, αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ. διεξιὼν γάρ, ἀφ' ἧς αἰτίας ἔρως ἐτέθη τῷ πάθει τοὔνομα, καὶ τῇδε χρησάμενος· 'Ἡ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου δόξης ἐπὶ ταγαθὸν ὁρμώσης

κρατήσασα ἐπιθυμία, πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἄγουσα κάλλους καὶ τῶν ἑαυτῆς συγγενῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ἐπὶ σωμάτων κάλλος ἐρρωμένως ῥωσθεῖσα νικήσασα ἀγωγὴ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ῥώμης ἐπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα ἔρως ἐκλήθη' καὶ τοσαύτην ἐκμηκύνας περίφρασιν ὀλίγοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι δυναμένου περιληφθῆναι πράγματος ἐπιλαμβάνεται τῆς ἀκαιρίας τῆς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καί φησι· *'Σιγῇ τοίνυν μου ἄκουε. τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεῖος εἶναι ἔοικεν ὁ τόπος. ὥστ' ἐὰν ἄρα πολλάκις νυμφόληπτος γένωμαι προιόντος τοῦ λόγου, μὴ θαυμάσῃς. τὰ νῦν γὰρ οὐκέτι πόρρω διθυράμβων τινῶν φθέγγομαι.'* "For in this composition the opening words have great beauty and are full of charm. 'My dear Phaedrus, whither pray are you going, and whence come you?—I have come from Lysias the son of Cephalus, Socrates, and am going for a walk outside the walls. For I have spent a long time at his house, and have been sitting down since early morning.' The whole passage is of the same kind till the reading of the speech of Lysias, and after that up to a certain point. Then as though some great storm were to burst from a calm and cloudless sky, he mars the purity of the diction and rushes into tasteless and poetic language, beginning thus: 'Come, O ye Muses, melodious (*λίγειαι*) as ye are called, whether you have received this title from the character of your song, or because the Ligyans (*Λιγύων*) are a musical race, with me in the story join!' Plato himself will tell us that these are noisy dithyrambs, full of high-sounding words but signifying little. For he proceeds to seek the cause why *Love* was the name assigned to the emotion in question, and gives the following explanation: 'The irrational desire which overmasters the tendency of opinion towards what is right, and leads to the enjoyment of beauty and of the desires, the desires which are her own kith and kin,—this desire, I say, marching victoriously against personal beauty is vigorously invigorated and from this very vigour receives the title of Love (*ῥώμη, ἔρως*).' And having described in this lengthy periphrasis a thing that could have been put in a few words, he assails his own want of sobriety and says: 'Listen to me, then, in silence; for in very truth the place seems sacred; so that you must not be surprised if perchance, as the discussion proceeds, I am seized with frenzy, for even my present utterance attains to something like a dithyrambic strain.'"—After the above excerpts from the *Phaedrus* (227 A, 237 A, 238 B, 238 D: with sundry divergencies of reading) there follows this comment: *<τάδ' οὐχ ὑ>π' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν λόγοις ἁλισκόμεθα <κατὰ τὴν τραγῳδί>αν, δαιμονιώτατε Πλάτων, διθυράμβων ψόφους καὶ λήρους ἠγαπηκότες.*

How much of this passage of the *de adm. vi dic. in Demosth.* was reproduced in the *Ep. ad Cn. Pomp.* we cannot tell. It is possible that the loss is due to the similarity of opening in the sentences *ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ συγγράμματι* κτλ. and *ἐν γὰρ τούτοις* κτλ.

For the aesthetic point, cp. Thompson's edition of the *Phaedrus*, p. 25: "It is to this part of the dialogue that Aristotle alludes, *Rhet.* iii. 7, 11, where he says that a high-flown poetical diction is admissible in prose, (1) when the feelings of the audience have been wrought to a high pitch by the speaker, or (2) when such style is adopted *μετ' εἰρωνείας, ὅπερ Γοργίας ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ.* This criticism, for its taste and discernment, stands in favourable contrast with that of Dionysius Halic., who is sorely scandalized by the 'turbid and obscure, and disagreeably poetical style' which, as he thinks, is a grievous change for the worse from the gracefulness of the introductory scene."

102 9 Cp. Diog. Laert. iii. 37, *φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν τῶν λόγων ἰδέαν αὐτοῦ μεταξὺ ποιήματος εἶναι καὶ πεζοῦ λόγου.* Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* x. 1, 81 "multum enim supra prosam orationem et quam Graeci pedestrem vocant surgit: ut mihi non hominis ingenio sed quodam Delphico videatur oraculo instinctus." Grote, *Plato* i. 213.

104 10—16 Cp. pp. 27, 28, 38 supra.

104 21—24 Cp. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 1, (δεῖ) *πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις αἱρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας.*

106 3 By the words *καὶ ἅπερ αὐτὸς εἴρηκε* Dionysius wishes to indicate that the opening of the History of Herodotus is familiar to all: *Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε· ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται· τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.*

106 27, 28 Both Hellanicus and Charon had written histories entitled *Περσικά*: see W. Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litt.*[3], pp. 324, 5. *Charon*, Pauly-Wissowa, iii. pp. 2179, 2180.

108 23 ff. Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 16, *ὧν προνοούμενος ἔοικεν ἀτελῆ τὴν ἱστορίαν καταλιπεῖν, ὡς καὶ Κράτιππος ὁ συνακμάσας αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ παραλειφθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγὼν γέγραφεν, οὐ μόνον ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτὰς ἐμποδὼν γεγενῆσθαι λέγων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὀχληρὰς εἶναι.*

110 1 *τοῖς ἀκούουσι.* Cp. p. 33 n. 1 supra, and Plin. *Ep.* v. 8, 11, "nam plurimum refert, ut Thucydides ait, *κτῆμα* sit an *ἀγώνισμα*; quorum alterum oratio, alterum historia est."

114 1 The division here suggested is something of the following kind:—

I. *ἀρεταὶ ἀναγκαῖαι*, viz.

(1) *ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σῴζουσα.*

(2) *σαφήνεια.*

(3) *συντομία.*

II. *ἀρεταὶ ἐπίθετοι*, viz.

(1) *ἐνάργεια.*

(2) *ἡ τῶν ἠθῶν τε καὶ παθῶν μίμησις.*

(3) *αἱ τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἐκφαίνουσαι τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀρεταί* (e.g. *ὕψος, καλλιρρημοσύνη, σεμνολογία, μεγαλοπρέπεια*).

(4) *αἱ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸν τόνον καὶ τὰς ὁμοιοτρόπους δυνάμεις τῆς φράσεως ἀρεταὶ περιέχουσαι* (e.g. *βάρος, τὸ ἐρρωμένον, τὸ ἐναγώνιον*).

(5) *ἡδονὴ καὶ πειθὼ καὶ τέρψις* (*τέρψις* = *χάρις, ἀφροδίτη*) *καὶ αἱ ὁμοιογενεῖς ἀρεταί.*

(6) *πασῶν ἐν λόγοις ἀρετῶν ἡ κυριωτάτη τὸ πρέπον* (perhaps this virtue should be placed in a class of its own).

Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 23, *τὰς μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαίας ἀρετὰς ἡ λέξις αὐτῶν πάντων ἔχει* (*καὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ καὶ σαφὴς καὶ σύντομός ἐστιν ἀποχρώντως, σῴζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἑκάστη τῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα*)· *τὰς δ' ἐπιθέτους, ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα διάδηλος ἡ τοῦ ῥήτορος γίνεται δύναμις, οὔτε ἁπάσας οὔτε εἰς ἄκρον ἠκούσας, ἀλλ' ὀλίγας καὶ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ὕψος λέγω καὶ καλλιρρημοσύνην καὶ σεμνολογίαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν· οὐδὲ δὴ τόνον οὐδὲ βάρος οὐδὲ πάθος διεγεῖρον τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον καὶ ἐναγώνιον πνεῦμα, ἐξ ὧν ἡ καλουμένη γίνεται δεινότης.* Ernesti, *Lexicon Technolog. Graecorum Rhetoricae*, p. 16: "*ἀναγκαίας ἀρετὰς τῆς λέξεως*, Dionys. Iud. Thuc. 22. p. 862 appellat eas elocutionis virtutes, quas in omnibus sermonibus adhiberi oportet, quales sunt, puritas, perspicuitas, brevitas. His contrariae sunt *ἀρεταὶ ἐπίθετοι*, adiectitiae, in quibus cernitur artificium et vis oratoria, ut sublimitas, elegantia, gravitas, magnificentia, adfectuum notatio etc. quas enumerat ipse cap. 23. p. 865. Sic Plut. in Cat. 18 *τοῖς περιττοῖς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα* opponit." id. *ib.* p. 123: "*ἐπίθετος φράσις*, quae eadem est *κατεσκευασμένη*, elaborata, arte facta, ornamentis oratoriis instructa."

114 5 The second point in the comparison between Herodotus and Thucydides has been lost. That it was *σαφήνεια* is clear from *de Vet. Cens.* (*de Imitat.*), p. 425 R. (Us. p. 22: see next note but two): *τῆς σαφηνείας δὲ ἀναμφισβητήτως Ἡροδότῳ τὸ κατόρθωμα δέδοται.*

114 28 *Caecilius*, p. 37 supra.

116 1, 2 Cf. the passages quoted p. 176 infra from Marcellinus *Vit. Thucyd.*; and Demetrius *π. ἑρμ.* 215 (of Ctesias), *καὶ ὅλως δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς οὗτος· ποιητὴν γὰρ αὐτὸν καλοίη ἄν τις εἰκότως· ἐναργείας δημιουργός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ συμπάσῃ.*

116 7 With the foregoing passage may be compared *de Imit.* ii. c. 3, 1 (Us. pp. 22, 23): *τῶν μέντοι συγγραφέων Ἡρόδοτος μὲν ἐξείργασται βέλτιον τὸ πραγματικὸν εἶδος· τῷ δὲ λεκτικῷ ποτὲ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖ Θουκυδίδης, ποτὲ δὲ ἔμπαλιν· ἔστιν δ' ἐν οἷς ἐξισοῦνται. τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἀκριβείᾳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἧς ἑκάτεροι προῄρηνται διαλέκτου, ἀποσῴζουσι τὸ ἴδιον· τῆς σαφηνείας δὲ ἀναμφισβητήτως Ἡροδότῳ τὸ κατόρθωμα δέδοται. καὶ τὸ μὲν σύντομον ἔστι παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ, τὸ δὲ ἐναργὲς παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἠθικοῖς κρατεῖ ὁ Ἡρόδοτος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παθητικοῖς ὁ Θουκυδίδης. πάλιν καλλιλογίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ διαφέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' ἑκάτεροι τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρετῶν κρατοῦσι. ῥώμῃ δὲ καὶ ἰσχύι καὶ τόνῳ καὶ τῷ περιττῷ καὶ πολυσχηματίστῳ παρηυδοκίμησε Θουκυδίδης· ἡδονῇ δὲ καὶ πειθοῖ καὶ χάριτι καὶ τῷ [ἀφελεῖ] αὐτοφυεῖ [ἀβασανίστῳ] μακρῷ διενεγκόντα τὸν Ἡρόδοτον εὑρίσκομεν· ὃς καὶ μετὰ τούτων τὸ πρέπον <περὶ> πραγματείαν καὶ προσωποποιίαν μᾶλλον συντετήρηκεν.*

περὶ ὧν καὶ ἕτερος ἔσται καιρός. It is probable that these words refer chiefly to the *de Thucyd.* and the *ad Amm.* ii.

116 8 With chapters IV. and V. may be compared *de Imit.* ii. c. 3, 2 (Us. pp. 23—25).

116 12 It is to be noted that the *Vita Agesilai* is not mentioned in the following short list of Xenophon's historical writings.

116 14 A true *Eikon Basilike*, in fact.

116 17 Possibly the original reading was *τὴν ἱστορίαν ἣν*, with a gloss *Ἑλληνικήν*.

118 3 The enumeration of qualities is somewhat fuller in *de Imit.* ii. c. 3, 2: *ἐκλεκτικὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ καθαρὸς τοῖς ὀνόμασι, καὶ σαφὴς καὶ ἐναργής, καὶ κατὰ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἡδὺς καὶ εὔχαρις, ὡς καὶ πλεῖον ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ.*

118 10 It is probable that some words introducing the topic of *τὸ πρέπον* have dropped out between *σβέννυται* and *μακρότερος*.

118 14 *Philistus:* cp. π. ὕψ. p. 237. Cic. *Ep. ad Quintum Fratrem* ii. 13, 4 (Tyrrell ii. 116): "Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros (duo enim sunt corpora) an utrosque nescio. me magis de Dionysio delectat. ipse est enim veterator magnus, et perfamiliaris Philisto Dionysius." Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 13, 56: "Hunc (sc. Thuc.) consecutus est Syracosius Philistus, qui, cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi videtur, imitatus." Wilkins' notes on the last passage should be consulted.

120 2 In the parallel passage of *de Imit.* ii. c. 3, 2 σεμνότης is also specified: οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως (sc. ἀπεμάξατο) τὴν καλλιλογίαν καὶ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων, κτλ.

120 14—16 More fully in *de Imit.* l.c.: μικρὸς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ ταπεινὸς κομιδῇ ταῖς ἐκφράσεσιν ἤτοι τόπων ἢ ναυμαχιῶν ἢ πεζῶν παρατάξεων ἢ οἰκισμοῦ πόλεων.

120 23 *Theopompus:* cp. *de Imit.* ii. c. 3, 3. See also π. ὕψ. p. 242. Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* x. 1, 74: "Theopompus his (sc. Herodoto et Thucydidi) proximus ut in historia praedictis minor, ita oratori magis similis, ut qui, antequam est ad hoc opus sollicitatus, diu fuerit orator." Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 13, 57 (with Wilkins' notes): "postea vero ex clarissima quasi rhetoris officina duo praestantes ingenio, Theopompus et Ephorus ab Isocrate magistro impulsi se ad historiam contulerunt; caussas omnino nunquam attigerunt."

120 26 Χιακάς. A. Schaefer *Dem. u. seine Zeit*[2] iii. 306, n. 2.

122 3, 4 W. Christ, *Gesch. d. griech. Litt.*[2] p. 362: "Seine beiden grossen historischen Werke waren die Hellenika in 12 B., welche, an Thukydides anknüpfend, die Geschichte von 410—394 oder bis zur Schlacht von Knidos behandelten, und die Philippika in 58 B., welche die Regierung des Königs Philippos von Makedonien zum Mittelpunkt hatten, aber in zahlreichen und ausgedehnten Digressionen die ganze Zeitgeschichte umfassten; so enthielten dieselben 3 Bücher sikilische Geschichte (Diod. 16, 71), eine Musterung der Demagogen Athens, einen Abschnitt wunderbarer Geschichten (im 10 B.), einen Exkurs über die aus Delphi geraubten Schätze."

122 27 καὶ τέλη. "Fort. καὶ ἤθη, vel καὶπιτηδεύματα. Vulgata certe lectio ferri nequit," Herwerden, p. 44. But cp. Kaibel *Hermes* xx. p. 510: "Memnon schrieb (sicherlich im ersten Jahrhundert nach Christus) die Geschichte seiner Vaterstadt Heraklea mit dem

besonderen Zweck die *πράξεις, ἤθη, βίοι* und *τέλη* der dortigen Tyrannen zu schildern. Dieser moralische Zweck unterschied ihn von seiner Quelle Nymphis; er wird dadurch dem Plutarch ähnlicher als irgend einem Historiker."

124 16 *διὸ καὶ βάσκανος κτλ.* Cp. Luc. *de hist. conscrib.* 59, *καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Θεοπόμπῳ αἰτίαν ἔξεις φιλαπεχθημόνως κατηγοροῦντι τῶν πλείστων καὶ διατριβὴν ποιουμένῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς κατηγορεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἱστορεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα.*

126 8 *τῆς τε συμπλοκῆς κτλ.* The reference is to Theopompus' excessive anxiety to avoid hiatus. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 151: "in quo quidam Theopompum etiam reprehendunt, quod eas litteras (sc. vocales) tanto opere fugerit." Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* ix. 4, 35: "nimiosque non immerito in hac cura putant omnes Isocratem secutos, praecipueque Theopompum."

SECOND LETTER TO AMMAEUS.

Summary, p. 30 supra. *Ammaeus*, p. 38 supra and *Classical Review* xiv. p. 440.

130 12 *Aelius Tubero*, p. 34 supra and *Classical Review* xiv. p. 441.

132 4 *τὸ διδασκαλικὸν σχῆμα λαβὼν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπιδεικτικοῦ.* Usener and Radermacher, against the authority of P 1741 and all other manuscripts, change *ἐπιδεικτικοῦ* into *ἀποδεικτικοῦ*. But Ammaeus did not desire the *ἀποδείξεις* ('demonstrations,' 'illustrations,' p. 130, l. 13) of the *de Thucydide* to be dropped; he merely wished that the illustrations should follow close upon the special point to be illustrated. Dionysius himself in the *de Thucyd.* c. 25 (the chapter immediately following the long passage quoted in *ad Amm.* ii. c. 2) clearly defines the method he intends to follow in that treatise: *προειρημένων δὲ τούτων κεφαλαιωδῶς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις αὐτῶν ὥρα τρέπεσθαι. ποιήσομαι δὲ οὐ χωρὶς ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης ἰδέας τὸν λόγον, ὑποτάττων αὐταῖς τὴν Θουκυδίδου λέξιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περιοχάς τινας καὶ τόπους, μέρη λαμβάνων τῆς τε διηγήσεως καὶ τῶν ῥητορειῶν καὶ παρατιθεὶς τοῖς τε πραγματικοῖς καὶ τοῖς λεκτικοῖς κατορθώμασιν ἢ ἁμαρτήμασι τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς τοιαῦτά ἐστι.* He prefers, that is, to treat his subject in the epideictic style of an essayist, rather than in the disjointed

manner of a schoolmaster who must care more for paedagogic effectiveness than for literary form. Compare also *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 46: παραδειγμάτων δ' οὐκ οἶομαι δεῖν ἐνταῦθα, ἵνα μοι μείζονα πίστιν ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων τοῖς ῥήτορος ἐξεταζομένων, εἰ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν, οἷα λέγω. πολὺ γὰρ <ἂν> ἡ σύνταξις τὸ μῆκος λάβοι, καὶ δέος, μή ποτε εἰς τοὺς σχολικοὺς ἐκβῇ χαρακτῆρας ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνηματισμῶν, and *de Comp. Verb.* c. 22: ἐνταῦθα ἡ μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἀπῄτει πολλὰ παρασχέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων ἑκάστου παραδείγματα, καὶ ἴσως οὐκ ἂν ἀηδὴς ὁ λόγος ἐγένετο, πολλοῖς ὥσπερ ἄνθεσι ποικιλλόμενος τοῖς ἐαρινοῖς. ἀλλ' ὑπέρμετρον ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι τὸ σύνταγμα, καὶ σχολικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ παραγγελματικόν.

132 14 So p. 134, l. 16, ποιητοῦ τρόπον ἐνεξουσιάζων. Cp. Marcellinus *Vita Thucyd.* 35, ζηλωτὴς δὲ γέγονεν ὁ Θουκυδίδης εἰς μὲν τὴν οἰκονομίαν Ὁμήρου, Πινδάρου δ' εἰς τὸ μεγαλοφυὲς καὶ ὑψηλὸν τοῦ χαρακτῆρος: 37, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων, ὅπερ εἴπομεν, ἐζήλωσεν Ὅμηρον καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἀκριβείας, τῆς τ' ἰσχύος τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἑρμήνειαν καὶ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ τάχους: 41, διά γ' οὖν τὸ ὑψηλὸν ὁ Θουκυδίδης καὶ ποιητικαῖς πολλάκις ἐχρήσατο λέξεσι καὶ μεταφοραῖς τισίν. περὶ δὲ πάσης τῆς συγγραφῆς ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἀποφήνασθαι ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ εἶδος τῆς συγγραφῆς οὐκ ἔστι ῥητορικῆς ἀλλὰ ποιητικῆς.

132 19 Cp. Marcellinus *Vit. Thucyd.* 56, ποικιλώτατος μὲν ἐν τοῖς τῆς λέξεως σχήμασι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν τοὐναντίον ἀσχημάτιστος.— Dionysius here omits (see critical footnote) the question of the 'composition' of Thucydides, which he treats fully in *de Comp.* c. 22.

134 18 Winifred Warren, *American Journal of Philology*, xx. p. 317: "τοπικῶν is the reading of the manuscripts here and in the *De Thucyd. Iudicium.* Krüger wrote τροπικῶν, and has been followed by van Herwerden and Usener. It seems possible, however, to keep the manuscript reading and understand a reference to Thucydides' proleptic use of prepositions and adverbs of place, e.g. ii. 5, 29; v. 52, 11. This is favoured by the coupling with χρόνων."

136 1 Cp. Marcell. 36, ἐζήλωσε δ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον, ὡς φησιν Ἀντυλλος, καὶ τὰς Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου παρισώσεις καὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις τῶν ὀνομάτων εὐδοκιμούσας κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ μέντοι καὶ Προδίκου τοῦ Κείου τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀκριβολογίαν.

136 3 *Licymnius.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 26, οὐ Λικύμνιοι κτλ., and Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12, βασταζονται δὲ οἱ ἀναγνωστικοί, οἷον Χαιρήμων (ἀκριβὴς γὰρ ὥσπερ λογογράφος) καὶ Λικύμνιος τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν.

136 5 Cp. Marcell. 56, ὀλίγοις ὀνόμασι πολλὰ πράγματα δηλῶν: 50, αἱ δὲ βραχύτητες θαυμασταὶ καὶ τῶν λέξεων οἱ νόες πλείονες: 53, μέλει δὲ αὐτῷ.....βραχύτητος συντάξεως.

136 11. Cp. Marcell. 51, πολυειδὴς δ' ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι, τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου μιμούμενος, ταχὺς ἐν ταῖς σημασίαις, πικρὸς ἐν ταῖς αὐστηρότησιν.—On the general question of the style of Thucydides (with especial reference to his employment of poetical or novel words and constructions), valuable articles, by C. F. Smith and J. D. Wolcott, will be found in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (years 1891, 1894, 1898).

136 14 ἐμβριθές: cp. Marcell. 50, τὸ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως τραχύτητος [δν] μεστὸν καὶ ἐμβριθὲς καὶ ὑπερβατικόν, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἀσαφές: 56, ἐμβριθὲς τὴν φράσιν.

136 19—23 **ἀκραιφνές.** Thucyd. i. 19, μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς συμμαχίας (schol. ὅτε εἶχον ἀβλαβῆ τὴν τῶν πάντων συμμαχίαν): i. 52, προσγεγενημένας τε ναῦς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀκραιφνεῖς (schol. ἀβλαβεῖς, ἀκεραιοφανεῖς).

ἐπιλογισμός. This word does not occur in our text of Thucydides, nor is it one which would be likely to be considered obscure by Dionysius, who himself uses the corresponding verb ἐπιλογίζομαι in *Ep. ad Pomp.* c. 1. Usener suggests that the word written by Dionysius was ἐπηλύτης (Thucyd. i. 9: cp. Marcell. 52).

περιωπή. Thucyd. iv. 87, οὕτω πολλὴν περιωπὴν τῶν ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα διαφόρων ποιούμεθα, where the schol. explains ἀντὶ τοῦ περίσκεψιν ἢ περιάθρησιν ἢ πρόνοιαν ἢ ἐξέτασιν. Cp. Phot. *Lex.* p. 425, 13: περιωπή καὶ πισύνη καὶ πύστις πάντα ταῦτα γλωττώδη παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ. καλεῖ δὲ περιωπὴν τὴν φροντίδα καὶ τὴν περίσκεψιν, οὐ τὸν τόπον ὡς Ὅμηρος.

ἀνακωχή. Thucyd. i. 40, Κερκυραίοις δὲ οὐδὲ δι' ἀνοκωχῆς πώποτ' ἐγένεσθε. Here and elsewhere (i. 66, iii. 4, iv. 38, 117, v. 25, 26, 32, viii. 87) in Thucydides the correct form seems to be ἀνοκωχή. But ἀνακωχή was used by Dionysius and the grammarians. Cp. schol. on Thucyd. *l.c.*, ἀνακωχή ἐστιν εἰρήνη πρόσκαιρος, πόλεμον ὠδίνουσα, οἷον ἡ μικρὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνάβλησις, παρὰ τὸ ἄνω ἔχειν τὰς ἀκωκὰς τῶν δοράτων.

κωλύμη. Thucyd. i. 92, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ ἀλλὰ γνώμης παραινέσει δῆθεν τῷ κοινῷ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο. Schol. κωλύμῃ] κωλύσει. ἰδία δὲ ἡ λέξις Θουκυδίδου. Cp. Marcell. 52, τὰ δ' ἴδια, οἷον ἀποσίμωσις καὶ κωλύμη καὶ ἀποτείχισις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα παρ' ἄλλοις μὲν οὐ λέλεκται, παρὰ τούτῳ δὲ κεῖται. The word occurs also in Thucyd. iv. 27, 63.

πρέσβευσις. Thucyd. i. 73, *ἡ μὲν πρέσβευσις ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ξυμμάχοις ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὧν ἡ πόλις ἔπεμψεν· αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν κτλ.* Schol., *ὅτι πρέσβευσις [καὶ καταβόησις] καὶ καταβοὴ οὐ λέγεται εἰ μὴ ἰδίᾳ παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ.* Cp. Gregorius Corinthius *de dial. Att.* 14, p. 50 Schaef., *οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν πρέσβευσιν λέγουσι καὶ τὴν καταβόησιν καταβοὴν [καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην ἀγάπησιν] καὶ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης.*

καταβοή (for *καταβολή* of the MSS.). See Thucyd. i. 73 (as quoted above), viii. 85, 87.

ἀχθηδών. Thucyd. iv. 40, *δι' ἀχθηδόνα*: schol., *διὰ λύπην.* So Hesychius, *ἀχθηδόνα*: *λύπην ὀδύνην βάρος.* The word is found also in Thucyd. ii. 37. As Mr Rouse suggests, *ἀχθηδών* might be paralleled by the Old English *teen*, *καταβοή* by *garboil*, *πρέσβευσις* by *ambassage*, *κωλύμη* by *let*, *ἀνακωχή* by *warstay*, etc.

δικαίωσις. Cp. schol. Thucyd. i. 141, *δικαίωσις: κέλευσις πρόσταξις*: iii. 82, *δικαιώσει δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ κρίσει*: v. 17, *δικαιώσεις: αἰτήματα δίκαια*: viii. 66, *δικαίωσις ἀντὶ τοῦ κόλασις ἢ εἰς δίκην ἀπαγωγὴ ἤτοι κρίσις.* The word occurs also in iv. 86.

138 5—7 The point specially criticised by Dionysius seems to be the use of the periphrasis *ἣν δηλώσας* for *ἐδήλωσεν.* Possibly also, as Usener suggests, he thinks that the whole sentence might have run more compactly thus: *βεβαιότατα γὰρ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φύσεως ἰσχὺν δηλώσας μᾶλλον ἑτέρου ἄξιος ἦν θαυμάσαι.* The words *ἐς αὐτὸ* are explained by the schol. in Thucyd. i. 138 as = *εἰς τὴν ἰσχὺν τῆς φύσεως.*

138 10 It seems best, for the reasons indicated below, to assume a lacuna here, and to regard *καὶ μὴν* as introducing a second instance of periphrasis. Usener would read *τὸ σύντομον* in place of *τὸ σημαινόμενον*, but "apart from the fact that *κατὰ πενίαν* is scarcely more concise than *πένης μὲν ὤν*, the transition from periphrasis to brachylogy is made through *καὶ μήν* alone; an example is introduced before the statement of that which it illustrates; and the passage violates the usage of the writer, since *ποιεῖ τὸν λόγον* and similar expressions are throughout the epistle used with a personal subject. There seems to be no doubt that there is a lacuna after *τὸ σημαινόμενον*; for (save here) up to the long citations in chapters xv. and xvi., Dionysius uniformly points out the particulars in which he criticises the passages quoted, and gives what is in his view a more

natural rendering." (Winifred Warren, *American Journal of Philology*, xx. p. 318.)

138 13 Thucyd. iv. 12, *καὶ ὁ μὲν τούς τε ἄλλους τοιαῦτα ἐπέσπερχε καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κυβερνήτην ἀναγκάσας ὀκεῖλαι τὴν ναῦν ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν. καὶ πειρώμενος ἀποβαίνειν ἀνεκόπη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τραυματισθεὶς πολλὰ ἐλιποψύχησέ τε καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν ἡ ἀσπὶς περιερρύη ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν* κτλ. For *παρεξειρεσία*, cp. schol. on Thucyd. iv. 12, *παρεξειρεσία ἐστὶν ὁ ἔξω τῆς εἰρεσίας τῆς νεὼς τόπος καθ' ὃ μέρος οὐκέτι κώπαις κέχρηνται· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἀκρότατον τῆς πρύμνης καὶ τῆς πρῴρας*, and on vii. 34, *παρεξειρεσία ἐστὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν πρῷραν πρὸ τῶν κωπῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις τὸ παρὲξ τῆς εἰρεσίας.* Dionysius evidently regards the use of *παρεξειρεσία* as an instance of excessive brevity. He seems to imply that Thucydides used *παρεξειρεσία* to mean not *τὸ παρὲξ τῆς εἰρεσίας* (the part clear of the oars, i.e. either end of the ship), but rather as a brachylogy for *ἐκτὸς παρὰ τὴν εἰρεσίαν.*

The same passage of Thucyd. is quoted by Demetrius, *de Elocutione* 65, with a somewhat different purpose: *τὸ μεγαλεῖον μέντοι ἐν τοῖς σχήμασι τὸ μηδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς μένειν πτώσεως, ὡς Θουκυδίδης, καὶ πρῶτος ἀποβαίνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν ἐλειποψύχησέ τε, καὶ πεσόντος αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν· πολὺ γὰρ οὕτω μεγαλειότερον, ἢ εἴπερ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πτώσεως οὕτως ἔφη, ὅτι ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν παρεξειρεσίαν καὶ ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἀσπίδα.*

138 17—23 Cp. schol. on the passage in question (Thucyd. i. 41): *τὸ παραινεῖν καὶ ἀξιοῦν ῥήματα ὄντα ὀνοματικῶς προήνεγκεν.*

138 24. The words *ἥ τε οὐκ ἀποτείχισις τοῦ Πλημμυρίου* are not to be found in Thucydides. They seem to be a confused recollection of the following passages: *μετὰ δὲ τῆς Ποτειδαίας τὴν ἀποτείχισιν* (Thucyd. i. 65), *διὰ τῆς Λευκάδος τὴν οὐ περιτείχισιν* (iii. 95), *ἡ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λῆψις* (vii. 24).

140 1 *ὀλόφυρσις* occurs in Thucyd. i. 143 and ii. 51. That the former is the passage here meant, is clear from the words *ἐν δημηγορίᾳ.*

140 17 The manuscripts of Thucydides give *ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς.* With or without *ἐν*, *κωλύει* seems to be used impersonally: "there is no hindrance to the one, or to the other, in [*or*, by] the treaty." Cp. Aristoph. *Av.* 463 (quoted by Forbes ad Thucyd. i. 144): *ὃν διαμάττειν οὐ κωλύει.*

140 23 Cp. schol. ad Thucyd. i. 2, *ἐπιμιγνύντες: ἐπιμιγνύμενοι.*

142 7 Cp. schol. ad Thucyd. i. 120, *ἐνηλλάγησαν ἀντὶ τοῦ συνέμιξαν καὶ ὡμίλησαν.*

142 14 Cp. Dionys. *de Thucyd.* c. 48 (with reference to the same passage of Thucydides), *καὶ ἔτι τὸ κατακορὲς τῆς μεταγωγῆς <τῆς> ἔκ τε τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ εἰς τὸ ἑνικὸν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ προσώπων λόγου εἰς τὸ τοῦ λέγοντος πρόσωπον.*

144 5 Cp. schol. ad Thucyd. ii. 35, *ἀπιστοῦσιν: λείπει ἕκαστος. ἔστι δὲ σχῆμα.*

144 9 **τάραχος** is not found in our present texts of Thucydides. But it was probably read by Dionysius in one or more of the following passages: Thucyd. ii. 84, iv. 75, vii. 80, viii. 42.

144 10 **ὄχλον.** The passage in question is Thucyd. i. 73, *εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται αἰεὶ προβαλλομένοις.* Elsewhere in Thucydides, who uses the word some twenty-six times in all, ὄχλος bears its usual sense of 'crowd.' Cp. Phot. *Lex.* p. 366, 9, ὄχλος· *τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ τὴν ὄχλησιν.* Hesychius, ὄχλον· *ἐνόχλησιν.*

144 11, 12 **τὸ βουλόμενον.....τὸ δυνάμενον.** *τὸ βουλόμενον* is found in Thucyd. i. 90 and vii. 49, but not in the passage (Thucyd. vi. 24) actually quoted, where the manuscripts give *τὸ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦν τοῦ πλοῦ* and the schol. adds the explanation *ἤγουν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν.* Possibly Dionysius himself wrote *ἐπιθυμοῦν* and the copyists have brought this into formal agreement with *τὸ βουλόμενον* above. *τὸ δυνάμενον* is absent from our texts of Thucydides, but it may have stood in ii. 97, *ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι* (schol. *διὰ τὴν δύναμιν*) *ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο.*—Cp. Antiph. *Orat.* v. 73, *κρεῖσσον δὲ χρὴ γίγνεσθαι ἀεὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον δυνάμενον ἐμὲ δικαίως σῴζειν ἢ τὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλόμενον ἀδίκως με ἀπολλύναι.*

144 17 The manuscripts of Thucyd. (iv. 78) give *τὸ ἐγχώριον*, used adverbially (schol. *ἐγχωρίως*). The ancient grammarians would no doubt explain *τῷ ἐπιχωρίῳ* as = "the national thing (constitution)," comparing such passages as Thucyd. ii. 47, *ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι* (schol. *θηλυκῶς ἡ νόσος, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ὡς πρὸς τὸ νόσημα ὑπήντησεν.* Suid. ii. 1, p. 1007, *νόσος λεγόμενον ἐγκατασκῆψαι: πρὸς τὸ σημαίνομενον ἡ σύνταξις· πρᾶγμα δηλονότι. παρὰ Θουκυδίδῃ*), and *Odyss.* xii. 74, *νεφέλη δέ μιν ἀμφιβέβηκε | κυανέη· τὸ μὲν οὔποτ' ἐ<ρωέει>.*

146 2—15 For a discussion of this passage, of the reading in Thucyd. viii. 64, and of Dionysius' general habits of quotation, reference may be made to *Classical Review* xiv. pp. 244—246, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus as an Authority for the Text of Thucydides.'

146 19 It is curious that, in his own use of the verb *ἐκπλήττεσθαι*, Dionysius seems to contradict the rule he here lays down with regard to *καταπλήττεσθαι*. In the *de Thucyd.* c. 30 he quotes *τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐκπεπληγμένος* from Thucydides. But in *ad Pomp.* 88 11 he writes *εἰ γάρ τις ἄλλος ἐκπλήττεται ταῖς Πλατωνικαῖς ἑρμηνείαις*, and in *de Isocr.* c. 8 *καρτερεῖν δὲ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ μὴ ἐκπλήττεσθαι ταῖς συμφοραῖς*. Evidently he does not in these passages regard *ἐκπλήττεσθαι* as a synonym for *θαυμάζειν* or *φοβεῖσθαι*, but presses the original force of the verb—'to be struck with admiration by,' 'to be struck with awe by.'

146 24 In Thucyd. ii. 39 *ἐθέλομεν* is supported by ABEFm$_2$g as well as Dionysius; *ἐθέλομεν* by CG.

148 15 Cp. schol. ad Thucyd. iv. 10, *ὑποχωρήσασι δέ*: *ὑποχωρησάντων δὲ καίπερ δυσέμβατον ὂν εὐεπίβατον γενήσεται τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*.

148 20 Cp. Gregorius Cor. *de dial. Att.* 27 p. 71, *ἔθος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀποδιδόναι τὴν σύνταξιν πρὸς τὴν φωνήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον. Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῆς συγγραφῆς* [iii. 79]· *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπέπλεον, καίπερ ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ ὄντας*, where the schol. explains *ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν πόλιν* by *κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἦγουν τῶν πολιτῶν*.

150 15 Cp. Marcell. 53, *τέθεικε δὲ πολλάκις καὶ πάθη καὶ πράγματα ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν, ὡς τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος* (iii. 11).

152 5 Cp. Marcell. 56, *ἀσαφὴς τὴν διάνοιαν διὰ τὸ ὑπερβατοῖς χαίρειν*: 50, *τὸ δὲ τῆς συνθέσεως...ὑπερβατικόν, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἀσαφές*.

152 17 *οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀνίσταντο*. The opening passage of Thucydides (i. 1, 2), up to and including these words, is quoted and discussed by Dionysius, *de Comp. Verb.* c. 22.

154 2 In the English translation of this and the remaining illustrative extracts from Thucydides, it has not seemed necessary (as the Greek original is printed on the opposite page) to make an elaborate attempt to reproduce those peculiarities of construction which are criticised by Dionysius.—"The change of subject and

the departure from chronological order appear clumsy. But Thucydides is not telling the old legend over again for its own sake; he is marking emphatically the circumstances which favoured Atreus. 'Eurystheus was dead—Atreus was his uncle—Eurystheus had left Mycenae in charge of Atreus. Now Atreus had come to Mycenae because he had been compelled to fly from Pisa,' etc." Forbes, *Thucyd.* i. 9 (note on).

156 21 Cp. Dionys. *de Thucyd.* c. 29, παρομοιώσεις γὰρ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα καὶ παρισώσεις περιέχει, καὶ τὰ ἐπίθετα καλλωπισμοῦ χάριν κεῖται, and schol. ad Thucyd. iii. 82, τὸ δὲ φιλέταιρος παρελκόντως κεῖται. κέχρηται δὲ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ προσθεῖναι τόλμαν ἀλόγιστον, ἵνα παρίσωσις γένηται.—From the modern point of view, the style of Thucydides has been analysed and estimated by M. Alfred Croiset, *Thucydide: Livres* i—ii. pp. 102 ff. and *Histoire de la littérature grecque* iv. pp. 155 ff.; as well as by Professor Blass *Att. Ber.* i. 201—227.

GLOSSARY OF RHETORICAL AND GRAMMATICAL TERMS.

In this Glossary of the chief rhetorical and grammatical terms found in the *Three Literary Letters*, we are not directly concerned with the general question of the language and style of Dionysius. But it may be useful to give a reference to the chapter headed "Die sprachlichen und stilistischen Grundsätze des Dionysius von Halikarnass," in W. Schmid's *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, i. pp. 1—26. In accordance with his own precepts, Dionysius aims at simplicity and directness of style, though occasionally he loses himself in the labyrinths of a period. In his use of words he is, often and necessarily, extremely technical. He is, nevertheless, anything but a pedantic writer. He discerns that the waters of language remain fresh only if fed perpetually from the springs. Holding that the language of literature should, where necessary, draw fearlessly on the language of ordinary life (cp. pp. 10, 15, 47 supra), he is himself often most vivid, graphic, and (we are tempted to say) *modern*. Examples of this freshness will have been noticed in the *Three Letters*, and in various passages quoted in the course of the Introductory Essay. A couple of instances may be added here. He speaks (*de Thucyd.* c. 30) of 'hardening' one's style (σκληραγωγῶν,—as though a delicate child were in question); and again in reference to style, he refers to the gift of knowing when to 'take occasion by the hand' (οὐδὲ τὸν καιρὸν αὐτῆς ἐπίσταται λαβεῖν δεξιῶς, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 10).

The copiousness of the technical vocabulary of Dionysius may be judged from the fact that this Glossary, somewhat lengthy as it is, is confined strictly to words occurring in the *Three Literary Letters*.

ἀγωγή. *ad Amm.* ii. 156 12. *Cast of style.* Cp. *de Isocr.* c. 15, *de Isaeo* cc. 18, 20, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* cc. 2, 23, 36, 42, 44, *de Comp.* c. 23. Also used by Dionysius of *training* (*de Isocr.* c. 1, *de Thucyd.* c. 50, *de Comp.* c. 1), and of a *mode* in music (*de Comp.* c. 19).

ἀγών. *ad Amm.* i. 54 8, 54 23 (ἀγωνισταὶ λόγων ῥητορικῶν), 56 12, 66 2, 80 8, 80 25, 82 14, 84 20. *ad Pomp.* 120 22. *Contests*, or *speeches delivered in political and judicial contests.* τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς ἀγῶνας = 'real contests or debates': cp. Cic. *Brut.* 316 "(Molonem) actorem in veris caussis scriptoremque praestantem." With ἀγωνισταὶ ('fighters, combatants, athletes') cp. *de Isaeo* c. 20, ἀγωνιστὴς δὲ λόγων οὔτε συμβουλευτικῶν οὔτε δικανικῶν ἐστι. The adj. ἐναγώνιος occurs in *de Isaeo* c. 20, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* cc. 30, 45. For the distinction between the γραφικὴ λέξις and the ἀγωνιστικὴ λέξις cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 12, 1, οὐ γὰρ ἡ αὐτὴ γραφικὴ (sc. λέξις) καὶ ἀγωνιστική, οὐδὲ δημηγορικὴ καὶ δικανική, i.e. the literary is not identical with the controversial style, nor the political with the forensic.

αἰτιατικὴ (πτῶσις). *ad Amm.* ii. 146 8, 146 14. *Accusative case.*

ἀκατάλληλος. *ad Amm.* ii. 148 11. *Lacking in correspondence or symmetry; irregular.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 27, διὰ μακροῦ τε γὰρ καὶ ἀκατάλληλον καὶ οὔτε δεινότητα ἔχον οὔτε σύνταξιν.

ἀκολουθία. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 10, 134 23. *Sequence.*

ἀκριβής. *ad Pomp.* 96 24, 100 9, 100 19. Of style: *exact, precise.* Cp. the use of the corresponding verb in *ad Pomp.* 114 26, ἀκριβοῖ μᾶλλον, 'gives a finer finish to': also *de Comp.* c. 23, ἀκριβοῦν τὴν ἁρμονίαν. In *ad Pomp.* 114 4, ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφότεροι, the reference is to the διάλεκτος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκριβής, which Aristotle demands from writers of Greek.

ἀλληγορία. *ad Pomp.* 98 18. *Allegory, covert meaning.* For criticisms of the allegories of Plato, cp. π. ὕψ. c. 32, ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις καὶ τὸν Πλάτωνα οὐχ ἥκιστα διασύρουσι, πολλάκις ὥσπερ ὑπὸ βακχείας τινὸς τῶν λόγων εἰς ἀκράτους καὶ ἀπηνεῖς μεταφορὰς καὶ εἰς ἀλληγορικὸν στόμφον ἐκφερόμενον. See also Glossary *ibid.* p. 194. Demetr. *de Eloc.* 99, μεγαλεῖον δέ τί ἐστι καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορία, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς, οἷον ὡς ὁ Διονύσιος, ὅτι οἱ τέττιγες αὐτοῖς ᾄσονται χαμόθεν.

ἀναλογία. *ad Pomp.* 98 17. *Analogy, proportion.* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 10, 7 (as quoted by Dionysius in *ad Amm.* i. 66 20). The reference is to the analogy, proportion, or point of contact, in the terms of μεταφοραί. Cp. note on pp. 165, 166 supra.

ἀνάπαυσις. *ad Pomp.* 110 8. *Pause.*

ἀντίθεσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 2, 156 9 (ἀντίθετον: concrete). *Antithesis*: 'the opposition of words or of ideas, or of both, in the two corresponding clauses of a sentence' (Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 98 n. 1). See also under παρίσωσις, p. 199 infra.

ἀντικατηγορεῖν. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 8. *To predicate one thing of another, use one in place of the other.*

ἀντιμετάταξις. *ad Amm.* ii. 144 7. Grammatical term: *interchange* (of genders). Lat. *commutatio.*

ἀντονομαστικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 148 13. *Pronominal.* ἀντονοματικόν (the reading of P) seems to point to this form rather than to ἀντωνυμικόν or ἀντωνυματικόν.

ἀπαγγέλλειν. *ad Amm.* i. 58 13, 58 21, 70 14, 70 21, 74 3. *To deliver a speech*: cp. διατίθεμαι infra.

ἀπειροκαλία. *ad Pomp.* 100 16, 98 12 (ἀπειρόκαλος). *Tastelessness, vulgarity*: especially as shown in the misuse of ornament. Cp. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* i. 363 n. 2, ii. 559.

ἀπηρχαιωμένος. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 17, 136 18. *Archaic, antiquated, obsolete.* So also in *de Isocr.* c. 2, *de Thucyd.* c. 50.

ἀπίθανος. *ad Amm.* i. 66 14. *Unconvincing, improbable.*

ἀποίητος. *ad Pomp.* 96 21, 100 9. *Natural, not artificial.* Cp. *de Lysia* c. 8, δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἀποίητός τις ὁ τῆς ἁρμονίας αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ.

ἀποστρέφειν. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 12, 148 20, 150 1, 150 23. *To cause to pass*, e.g. from one construction to another. So ἀποστροφή, 'transition,' 134 17, 148 17. Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 195.

ἀποτείνειν. *ad Pomp.* 98 10. *To lengthen out*: of redundant style. Possibly both the verbs, in the phrase ἕλκει τε μακρὸν ἀποτείνουσα τὸν νοῦν, derive their meaning from one or other of the technical uses of ἕλκειν and ἀποτείνειν described in H. Blümner's *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei den Griechen und Römern.*

ἄρθρον. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 1. *Article.* Cp. [Aristot.] *Poetics* c. 20, τῆς δὲ λέξεως ἁπάσης τάδ' ἐστὶ τὰ μέρη, στοιχεῖον συλλαβὴ σύνδεσμος ἄρθρον ὄνομα ῥῆμα πτῶσις λόγος, and Dionys. Hal. *de Comp.* c. 2, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Στωϊκῆς αἱρέσεως ἡγεμόνες, ἕως τεττάρων προὐβίβασαν, χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων τὰ ἄρθρα. Two things follow from these passages: (1) the Stoics were the

probable authors of the separation of 'article' from 'conjunction'; (2) the term 'article' must originally, and possibly in the time of Dionysius, have been used in a comprehensive way, ἄρθρον ὑποτακτικόν being = *pronomen relativum*. Cp. Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica* p. 61 (ed. Uhlig): ἄρθρον ἐστὶ μέρος λόγου πτωτικόν, προτασσόμενον καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῆς κλίσεως τῶν ὀνομάτων, i.e. an 'article' is an inflected part of speech, preceding or following [according as it is ὁ or ὅς] the case of the noun it is connected with.

ἁρμονία. *ad Pomp.* 124 27. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 12. *Harmony, composition, adjustment of words.* The μέση ἁρμονία in *ad Pomp.* 124 27 is the same as the κοινὴ ἁρμονία described on p. 18 supra. It is hardly possible to find a satisfactory equivalent in English for ἁρμονία λόγου, the sense being *concinna orationis compositio.*

ἀρρενικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 12. *Of the masculine gender.*

ἀρχαιοπρεπής. *ad Pomp.* 98 15. *Old-fashioned*: used of archaic words.

ἀρχαιότης. *ad Pomp.* 98 1. *Antiquity.* Cp. Plat. *Legg.* 657 B.

ἀσχημάτιστος. *ad Pomp.* 126 6. *Lacking in figures* (σχήματα). Cp. [Plut.] *Vit. Andoc.* 15, ἔστι δὲ ἁπλοῦς καὶ ἀκατάσκευος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀφελής τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

Ἀττίς. *ad Amm.* i. 68 6, 76 3. *ad Pomp.* 114 5. In *ad Amm.* i. the word is used of the researches of Philochorus into Attic history etc.; in *ad Pomp.* it means the Attic dialect (sc. γλῶττα).

αὐθέκαστος. *ad Pomp.* 112 22. *Severe, uncompromising.* Cp. the use of αὐθάδης, with reference to Thucydides' style, in *de Comp.* c. 22, ἀρχαϊκὸν δέ τι καὶ αὐθαδες ἐπιδείκνυται κάλλος. The term αὐθέκαστος is used by Plutarch (*Vit. Cat.* c. 6) to describe the honest bluntness of Cato. It is used, *de Comp.* c. 22, of the αὐστηρὰ ἁρμονία, which is characterised as: ἥκιστα ἀνθηρά, μεγαλόφρων, αὐθέκαστος, ἀκόμψευτος.

αὐστηρός. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 13. *Stern, austere.* The following antithetic expressions in the *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* fix the meaning: αὐστηρὰν ἱλαράν (c. 8); τοτὲ μὲν τὸ ἀρχαιοπρεπὲς καὶ αὐστηρόν, τοτὲ δὲ τὸ μελιχρὸν καὶ φιλόκαινον ἐμφαινόμενον (c. 48).

αὐχμός. *ad Pomp.* 106 13. Here used, as by Thucydides, in the literal sense of *drought.* Elsewhere (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 44) applied to a spare, meagre, jejune style: cp. the adj. αὐχμηρός in *de Thucyd.* c. 51, αὐχμηρὰν καὶ ἀκόσμητον καὶ ἰδιωτικὴν (πραγματείαν).

ἀφελής. *ad Pomp.* 96 21. *Plain, simple.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 2, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα λέξις ἡ λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελής (illustrated by the style of Lysias).

βούλεσθαι. *ad Pomp.* 96 17. *To aspire.* Ernesti, *Lex. Techn. Graec. Rhet.* p. 58: "Hoc verbo utitur Dionysius Halic. ut studium atque artem significet, qua quis orationem instruat, contrariam simplicitati naturali, quam quis naturae beneficio adhibet, ut in Iud. Isocr. cap. 3 πέφυκε ἡ Λυσίου λέξις ἔχειν τὸ χαρίεν, ἡ δὲ Ἰσοκράτους βούλεται, h. e. Lysiana dictio *naturalem suavitatem habet*, Isocratis autem *affectatam, studio quaesitam.*" Cp. *ad Pomp.* 96 19.

γενικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 8, 146 14. *Genitive*: γενικὴ πτῶσις.

γένος. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 6. *Gender.*

γλωττηματικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 17, 136 18. *Obscure, recondite.* Cp. Aristot. *Poetics* c. 21, ἅπαν δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα.....λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαστοι, γλῶτταν ('strange word') δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι. Galen (*Gloss. Hipp.* xix. 63) ὅσα τοίνυν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν μὲν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις ἦν συνήθη, νῦν δὲ οὐκέτι ἐστί, τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα γλώττας καλοῦσι. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 4, οὔτε γὰρ ἀρχαίοις οὔτε πεποιημένοις οὔτε γλωττηματικοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς κοινοτάτοις καὶ συνηθεστάτοις κέχρηται.

γραφικός. *ad Amm.* i. 58 2, χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος: *the most literary or polished, that which reads the best.* "While the first epithet, χαριέστατος, implies all the grace and charm of perfect Attic diction; the second, γραφικώτατος, points to the finish and precision characteristic of the written style, as contrasted with the style of debate which lends itself more readily to delivery. Such at least is the definition given in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, iii. 12 § 2, ἔστι δὲ λέξις γραφικὴ μὲν ἡ ἀκριβεστάτη, ἀγωνιστικὴ δὲ ἡ ὑποκριτικωτάτη. In § 6 of the same chapter, Aristotle describes the epideictic style as γραφικωτάτη, that is, 'in the highest degree adapted for writing, for its special function is reading': and next to this he places the forensic style (ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιδεικτικὴ λέξις γραφικωτάτη· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον αὐτῆς ἀνάγνωσις· δευτέρα δὲ ἡ δικανική)." Sandys, *Speech of Demosthenes against Leptines*, p. xxxiv.

δεινότης. *ad Amm.* i. 56 14, *ad Pomp.* 126 4. The quality of δεινότης, attributed to Demosthenes above all orators, is that *mastery* which is the joint result of force and cleverness. No one translation will serve in all cases, but such equivalents as *mastery, oratorical power, impressiveness, nervous force, intensity, skill, resourcefulness* may

be suggested. Cp. Demetr. *de Eloc.* 247, τὰ δὲ ἀντίθετα καὶ παρόμοια ἐν ταῖς περιόδοις φευκτέον· ὄγκον γὰρ ποιοῦσιν, οὐ δεινότητα, πολλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ψυχρότητα ἀντὶ δεινότητος, Dionys. H. *de Thucyd.* c. 53, τὴν ἐξεγείρουσαν τὰ πάθη δεινότητα, *ibid.* c. 23, οὐδὲ δὴ τόνον οὐδὲ βάρος οὐδὲ πάθος διεγεῖρον τὸν νοῦν οὐδὲ τὸ ἐρρωμένον καὶ ἐναγώνιον πνεῦμα, ἐξ ὧν ἡ καλουμένη γίνεται δεινότης. This last passage (together with such phrases as τὸ δεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν in *ad Amm.* ii. 136 14) is enough to show that the word is not confined to mere 'cleverness' or 'ingenuity,' though that is the predominant meaning in Dem. *de Cor.* 276, where δεινός may be translated 'rhetorician' and τὴν ἐμὴν δεινότητα 'my rhetorical skill.'

δημηγορία. *ad Amm.* i. 56 13 (ἀγῶνας.....δημηγορικούς), 58 4, 58 13 (λόγον.....δημηγορικόν), 58 15, 58 21, 58 24, 60 5 (δημηγορικός), 66 4 (δημηγορεῖν), 70 7, 70 13 (λόγους.....δημηγορικούς), 72 4, 72 8, 72 14, 72 22, 78 21 (ἐδημηγόρουν: from Dem. *de Cor.*), 80 16 (δημηγορικοὺς.....λόγους); *ad Pomp.* 114 27; *ad Amm.* ii. 140 1, 150 4. *A speech before the assembly, a parliamentary speech.* Specially used of the *Speeches* (ῥητορεῖαι) of Thucydides: *de Thucyd.* c. 34, *ad Pomp.* 114 27, *ad Amm.* ii. 140 2. A list of the δημηγορίαι (συμβουλευτικοὶ λόγοι) of Demosthenes will be found in S. H. Butcher's *Demosthenes*, p. 170.

δημόσιος. *ad Amm.* i. 56 21, 60 5, 70 8, 82 1. Of speeches: *public.* λόγοι δημόσιοι is used by Dionysius to cover both λόγοι δημηγορικοί and λόγοι δικανικοί: cp. 60 5. In λόγους δημοσίους εἰς δικαστήρια γεγραφώς (70 8) the reference is to 'orationes forenses in caussis ad maiestatem plebis pertinentibus,' i.e. τῶν δικανικῶν λόγων τοὺς δημοσίους)(τοὺς ἰδιωτικούς: see list in S. H. Butcher's *Demosthenes*, p 171.

διάλεκτος. *ad Pomp.* 96 17, 100 10, 114 3. *Language, idiom.*

διατίθεσθαι. *ad Amm.* i. 58 1, 72 5, 72 8, *ad Pomp.* 102 2. *To deliver a speech.* Equivalent to ἀπαγγέλλειν p. 185 supra. διελήλυθε is used in the same sense *ad Amm.* i. 72 13, 72 22.

διανγής. *ad Pomp.* 96 23. *Transparent.*

διδασκαλικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 4. *Didactic.*

διήγησις. *ad Pomp.* 110 7, 112 7 (διήγημα), 112 13, 114 27. *Narrative.* Strictly διήγημα is *a thing narrated, tale, incident.*

διθύραμβος. *ad Pomp.* 100 17, 102 11. *Dithyramb, inflated language.* So 102 6, τὴν τροπικήν τε καὶ διθυραμβικὴν φράσιν. Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 238 D, 241 E.

δικανικός. *ad Amm.* i. 56 12. *Forensic.* Longer phrases are also used to denote forensic speeches, e.g. *ad Amm.* i. 56 23, 66 5, 70 8, 80 9.

δοτικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 17. *Dative*: with πτῶσις.

δραστήριος. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 6. *Active*: with ῥῆμα. Cp. ἐνεργητικός, ποιητικός.

δύναμις. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 15. *Meaning.* Also used of *power, ability*: *ad Pomp.* 92 20, 100 4.

δυσείκαστος. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 19. *Hard to guess, puzzling.*

δυσέξλικτος. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 24. *Hard to unravel, involved.*

δυσπαρακολούθητος. *ad Pomp.* 110 30, 118 22, *ad Amm.* ii. 152 7, 152 24. *Hard to follow, obscure.* The opposite of εὐπαρακολούθητος, *ad Pomp.* 122 5, *ad Amm.* ii. 132 6.

ἐγκατάσκευος. *ad Pomp.* 98 26. Of style: *embellished, highly wrought, elaborate, artificial.* Cp. *de Comp.* c. 18 (where the reference is likewise to Plato), νῦν δὲ δὴ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐκλογήν ἐστιν ἃ διαμαρτάνει, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν οἷς ἂν τὴν ὑψηλὴν καὶ περιττὴν καὶ ἐγκατάσκευον διώκῃ φράσιν: *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 1, ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ περιττὴ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη λέξις, ἧς ὅρος καὶ κανὼν ὁ Θουκυδίδης: Demetr. *de Elocut.* 15, οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος ἔσται (sc. ὁ λόγος) καὶ ἁπλοῦς ἅμα, καὶ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἡδύς, καὶ οὔτε μάλα ἰδιωτικὸς οὔτε μάλα σοφιστικός. See also *s.v.* κατασκευή.

εἰκότα. *ad Amm.* i. 54 10. *Probabilities.* V. σημεῖον, p. 205 infra.

εἰσαγωγή. *ad Amm.* i. 56 7, *ad Amm.* ii. 132 2. *Initiations, introductions*: with especial reference to the study of rhetoric. αἱ εἰσαγωγαὶ τῶν λόγων = 'institutiones oratoriae,' while αἱ τέχναι = 'artes rhetoricae.'

ἔκδοσις. *ad Amm.* i. 70 14. *Publication.*

ἐκλογή. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 16. *Choice, selection.*

ἐκμάττειν. *ad Pomp.* 120 1. *To express, copy*: used in middle. Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 4, τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ κατεσκευασμένην φράσιν τῶν περὶ Γοργίαν ἐκμέμακται, *ibid.* c. 13, τὸν Λυσιακὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐκμέμακται εἰς ὄνυχα (*ad unguem, ad amussim*). Cp. Greilich, *Dionys. Halic. quibus potissimum vocabulis ex artibus metaphorice ductis in scriptis rhetoricis usus sit*, pp. 15—19.

ἑλληνίζειν. *ad Pomp.* 98 8. *To speak or write Greek.* Especially used of pure Greek writing: Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 5, 1, ἔστι δ' ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἑλληνίζειν.

ἐμβριθής. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 14. Of style: *weight, gravity* (τὸ ἐμβριθές).

ἔμμετρος. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 14. *Metrical.*

ἐναλλαγή. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 18. *Enallage, variation.* Reference is also made to the use of this figure in *ad Amm.* ii. 140 15, 142 13.

ἐνάργεια. *ad Pomp.* 92 6, 114 10. *Vividness: vivid, pictorial, graphic representation.* The following passages will illustrate the meaning: Dionys. Hal. *de Lysia* c. 7, ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐνάργειαν πολλὴν ἡ Λυσίου λέξις· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ δύναμις τις ὑπὸ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἄγουσα τὰ λεγόμενα, γίνεται δ' ἐκ τῆς τῶν παρακολουθούντων λήψεως, π. ὕψ. c. 15, ὡς δ' ἕτερόν τι ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαντασία βούλεται καὶ ἕτερον ἡ παρὰ ποιηταῖς, οὐκ ἂν λάθοι σε, οὐδ' ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει τέλος ἐστὶν ἔκπληξις, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια, ἀμφότεραι δ' ὅμως τό τε <παθητικὸν> ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ τὸ συγκεκινημένον, Spengel's *Rhett. Gr.* i. 439, (*Anonymi Ars*), ἔστι δὲ ἐνάργεια λόγος ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον. See also Demetr. *de Elocut.* 209—222, and Jebb's *Att. Or.* i. 172, 173. The Latin equivalent is *evidentia.*

ἐνεργητικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 140 18. *Active*: of verbs.

ἐνθύμημα. *ad Amm.* i. 62 25, 64 6, 64 8, 64 21, 74 5, *ad Pomp.* 114 28, 120 1 (ἐνθυμηματικός), 120 2, *ad Amm.* ii. 134 21, 152 5, 154 12. *Rhetorical syllogism*: Aristotle's definition, as quoted in *ad Amm.* i. 64 8. "By *enthymeme*, Aristotle meant a rhetorical syllogism: that is, a syllogism drawn, not from the premisses (ἀρχαί) proper to any particular science—such, for instance, as medicine—but from propositions relating to contingent things in the sphere of human action, which are the common property of all discussion; propositions which he classifies as general (εἰκότα) and particular (σημεῖα); and accordingly *defines* an enthymeme as 'a syllogism from probabilities and signs.' [Arist. *An. Pr.* ii. 27, συλλογισμὸς ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων.] A misapprehension of Aristotle's meaning had, as early as the first century B.C., led to the conception of the enthymeme as not merely a syllogism of a particular subject-matter, but also as a syllogism *of which one premiss is suppressed.* [Quint. v. 10 § 3: this is what Juvenal means, *Sat.* vi. 449, by *curtum* enthymema.] The term *epicheireme* was then brought in to denote a rhetorical syllogism which is stated in full—an 'essay' to deal thoroughly with

the issue at stake," Jebb *Att. Or.* ii. 289, 290. Thus the Aristotelian ἐνθύμημα is an *argument based on probable evidence.* But in the later rhetorical writers (to judge from the illustrations given by Dionysius, and by Demetrius *de Elocutione*) ἐνθυμήματα sometimes meant little more than *considerations, points.* Cp. Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, p. 192: "Dieser doppelten Namensdeutung gemäss verstand man nun unter Enthymem theils das Beweismittel selbst, d. h. den Gedanken, der angewandt wird, um etwas anderes zu beweisen, daher ἐνθύμημα oft gerade synonym mit ἔννοημα, vgl. Schol. Aristid. p. 173. Soph. Oed. Col. 292, auch bei Isokrates ist ἐνθύμημα wohl nichts anderes, als der zum Beweis benutzte Gedanke —theils die Darstellung des Beweises, und letzteres war das gewöhnliche." *ibid.* p. 455: "Eine *sententia ex contrariis* wurde, gleichsam κατ' ἐξοχήν, ἐνθύμημα genannt, wie der Satz aus Cic. pro Lig. 4, 10: 'quorum igitur impunitas, Caesar, tuae clementiae laus est, eorum te ipsorum ad crudelitatem acuet oratio?'"

ἑνικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 7. *Singular*: of number.

ἐξηλλαγμένος. *ad Pomp.* 98 26, *ad Amm.* ii. 134 19. *Uncommon, artificial, elaborate.* The full phrase would be ἐξηλλαγμένος τῶν ἐν ἔθει (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 56), or the like. Cp. ἡ ἐξαλλαγὴ τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως *ad Amm.* ii. 136 25, ταῦτα ἐξήλλακται μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολιτικῆς καὶ συνήθους τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπαγγελίας *de Thucyd.* c. 54, ἡ τῆς συνθέσεως ἐξαλλαγή *de Dinarcho* c. 7, ἐξηλλαγμένην)(συνήθη (διάλεκτον) *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 8. The use in Aristot. *Poetics* c. 21 is more special: ἐξηλλαγμένον δ' ἐστὶν ὅταν τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου τὸ μὲν καταλείπῃ τὸ δὲ ποιῇ, οἷον τὸ "δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν" ἀντὶ τοῦ δεξιόν.

ἐπαγωγή. *ad Amm.* i. 62 26. *An induction.* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 2, 8.

ἔπαινος. *ad Pomp.* 88 18. *A panegyric, eulogy.* Cp. ἐγκώμιον (*ad Pomp.* 90 10), *laudatio, éloge.*

ἐπίθετος. *ad Pomp.* 96 27, 98 16 (ἐπίθετον), 114 11. *Extraneous, accessory.* As a noun: *adjective, epithet.* See also note on p. 172 supra. Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 25, τῆς δ' ἀπειροκαλίας αὐτὸν (Πλάτωνα) οὐδεπώποτ' ἐζήλωσα τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθέτοις κατασκευαῖς, *ibid.* c. 1, ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐξηλλαγμένη καὶ περιττὴ καὶ ἐγκατάσκευος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις κόσμοις ἅπασι συμπεπληρωμένη λέξις.

"Was das ἐπίθετον, das Adjectivum betrifft: so ist es im Alterthum vielleicht von Niemanden, höchstens aber nur von dem einen oder anderen Grammatiker zum besonderen Redetheil gemacht," Steinthal,

Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern, p. 608. But cp. *de Comp. Verb.* c. 5.

ἐπιτάφιος. *ad Amm.* ii. 142 23. *Funeral oration*: sc. λόγος.

ἐπιτρέχειν. *ad Pomp.* 98 2. *To be spread over, to lie upon.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 41, καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀξίωμα καὶ χάρις αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέχει ταῖς ἁρμονίαις, *de Thucyd.* c. 5, ἐπιτρέχει μέντοι τις ὥρα τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτῶν καὶ χάρις. [In *de Dinarcho* c. 7, ὅτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς ἀρχετύποις αὐτοφυής τις ἐπιπρέπει χάρις καὶ ὥρα, possibly ἐπιτρέχει should be read.]

ἐπιτροχάδην. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 8. *Cursorily, rapidly.*

ἐπιχείρησις. *ad Amm.* i. 62 5, 66 15, 66 16 (ἐπιχείρημα). *Argumentation.* In 66 15 (ψυχρὰν μὲν καὶ ἀπίθανον ἐπιχείρησιν εἰσάγων, βιαζόμενος δὲ τὸ κακουργότατον τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων ποεῖν πιθανώτερον, ὅτι κτλ.) ἐπιχείρησιν may be translated by *argumentation*, and ἐπιχείρημα by *argument*. See also *s.v.* ἐνθύμημα supra. Cp. *de Dinarcho* c. 6, πιστοῦταί <τε> οὐ κατ' ἐνθύμημα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ' ἐπιχείρημα πλατύνων, *de Isaeo* c. 16, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀποδεικτικοῖς διαλλάττειν ἂν δόξειεν Ἰσαῖος Λυσίου τῷ τε μὴ κατ' ἐνθύμημά τι λέγειν ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιχείρημα καὶ τῷ μὴ βραχέως ἀλλὰ διεξοδικῶς μηδὲ ἁπλῶς ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς αὔξειν τε μᾶλλον καὶ δεινότερα ποιεῖν τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ πάθη ποιεῖν γεννικώτερα.

"Wann und durch wen der Ausdruck ἐπιχείρημα zuerst in die Rhetorik aufgenommen ist, lässt sich, wie es scheint, nicht mehr ermitteln. Cornif. II. 2, 2 kennt ihn bereits in dem eben angeführten allgemeineren Sinne von πίστις, denn er übersetzt ἐπιχειρήματα durch *argumentationes* (*argumentationes, quas Graeci* ἐπιχειρήματα *appellant*)," Volkmann, *Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer*, p. 195.

ἑρμηνεία. *ad Pomp.* 88 12, 120 21. *Expression.* Cp. the use of περὶ ἑρμηνείας (=*de elocutione*) in the title of the treatise once attributed to Demetrius Phalereus.

εὐπαίδευτος. *ad Pomp.* 88 4. *Cultured, scholarly.*

εὐρυθμία. *ad Pomp.* 126 9. *Rhythmical movement*: of a period.

εὐστομία. *ad Pomp.* 120 20. *Euphony.* A special quality of Lysias: cp. *de Lysia* c. 12, ὅτι τὴν χάριν οὐ προσβάλλουσι τὴν Λυσιακὴν οὐδὲ τὴν εὐστομίαν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνης τῆς λέξεως, *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 13, φυσική τις ἐπιτρέχει τοῖς Λυσίου λόγοις εὐστομία καὶ χάρις.

εὐτελής. *ad Pomp.* 120 15. *Commonplace, vulgar.* Cp. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 253 κατηγοροῦσι δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ὡς εὐτελὲς εἰπόντος προοίμιον.

ἡδονή. *ad Pomp.* 114 20. *Charm.* Lat. *iucunditas.* Fr. *agrément.* ἡδονή is a somewhat comprehensive term: cp. *de Comp.* c. 11 τάττω δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν ἡδονήν, τὴν ὥραν ('freshness'), καὶ τὴν χάριν ('grace'), καὶ τὴν εὐστομίαν ('euphony'), καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα ('sweetness'); καὶ τὸ πιθανόν ('persuasiveness'), καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

ἤθος. *ad Amm.* i. 52 15. *ad Pomp.* 114 13. In the plural: *traits of character.*

θεατρικός. *ad Pomp.* 98 5. *Theatrical, showy, pretentious.*

θηλυκός. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 6. *Of the feminine gender.*

Ἰάς. *ad Pomp.* 114 5. *Ionic dialect* (sc. γλῶττα).

ἴδίωμα. *ad Amm.* ii. 130 6, 130 17. *Peculiarity of language.*

ἱλαρός. *ad Pomp.* 116 4. *Bright, joyous*: opp. φοβερός. Cp. αὐστηρός, p. 186 supra.

ἰσχνός. *ad Pomp.* 96 19, 96 21, 100 8, 100 19, 100 25. Of style: *plain.* Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* xii. 10, 58: "namque unum subtile (genus), quod ἰσχνόν vocant, alterum grande atque robustum, quod ἁδρόν dicunt, constituunt; tertium alii medium ex duobus alii floridum (namque id ἀνθηρόν appellant) addiderunt." In the passages of the *ad Pomp.* ἰσχνός is used in connexion with ἀφελής, ἀκριβής, ἀποίητος, as elsewhere with λιτός. It is sometimes contrasted with ὑψηλός. Cp. also *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* cc. 2, 34, and the use of *tenuis* in Cic. *Orat.* v. 20 and Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 21. The plain style was regarded as bearing preeminently the stamp of Lysias: cp. Λυσιακὸς (χαρακτήρ), *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 11.

ἰσχύς. *ad Pomp.* 114 18. Of style: *strength.*

καθαρός. *ad Pomp.* 118 2. *Clear, lucid.*

καινότης. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 24. *Novelty.*

κακοῦργος. *ad Amm.* i. 66 15. *Dishonest, mischievous.*

καλλιεπεῖν. *ad Pomp.* 98 6. *To use elegant language.* Cp. ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 49. In earlier Greek the verb was used in the middle voice: Thucyd. vi. 83 καὶ οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα ὡς ἢ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελόντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν, Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2, 3 εἰ δοῦλος καλλιεποῖτο ἢ λίαν νέος, ἀπρεπέστερον.

καλλιλογία. *ad Pomp.* 120 1. *Elegant language.*—Though the compounds have a somewhat depreciatory sense, τὸ καλόν ('beauty,'

or perhaps better 'nobility') is a term of high praise. In *de Comp.* c. 11 (cp. p. 13 supra) a good style is regarded as resulting from the combination of τὸ καλόν and ἡ ἡδονή. The former includes: grandeur (μεγαλοπρέπεια), gravity (βάρος), majesty (σεμνολογία), dignity (ἀξίωμα).

κανών. *ad Pomp.* 114 5. *Standard.* Lat. *norma et regula.*

καταβρομή. *ad Pomp.* 90 8. *Invective.*

κατάλληλος. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 22. Of grammatical construction: *congruous, regular.* Cp. ἀκατάλληλος supra, and also *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 27, *de Thucyd.* cc. 31, 37. In Modern Greek, κατάλληλος means 'suitable.'

κατασκευάζω. *ad Amm.* i. 56 24, 66 13, 80 25, 84 23, *ad Pomp.* 100 9, *ad Amm.* ii. 130 11. *To construct, compose.* κατεσκευασμένην (*ad Pomp.* 100 9) = Lat. *ornatam*: cp. *de Lysia* c. 8 ἐστι δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ἔργου τεχνικῶς κατεσκευασμένος, and *de Comp.* c. 26 ἐν ᾧ πολὺ τὸ κατεσκευασμένον ἐστὶ καὶ ἔντεχνον. With *ad Amm.* i. 84 23, cp. *de Comp.* c. 23 ἐνὸς ἔτι παραθήσω λέξιν ἀνδρὸς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κατεσκευασμένην χαρακτῆρα.

κατασκευή. *ad Pomp.* 96 27, 100 6, 100 10, 100 21, 102 9, 102 17, 114 17, *ad Amm.* ii. 154 13. *Elaboration, embellishment.* Cp. *de Isocr.* c. 20 οὐ μέντοι παντάπασί γε τὴν Ἰσοκράτειον ἀγωγὴν ἐκβέβηκεν, ἀκαρῆ δέ τινα διασῴζει τῆς κατασκευῆς τε καὶ σεμνολογίας ἐκείνης ἐνθυμήματα καὶ ποιητικώτερα μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἢ ἀληθινώτερα. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 23 τῆς δ' ἀπειροκαλίας αὐτὸν οὐδεπώποτ' ἐζήλωσα τῆς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθέτοις κατασκευαῖς. V. ἐγκατάσκευος, p. 189 supra. There is a standing antithesis between τροπικὴ κατασκευή and κυρία φράσις (p. 9, n. 1 supra), but κατασκευή is not entirely confined to *diction* (cp. Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 96 n., 100 n.). The usual meaning is well brought out in a passage of the *de Isaeo* c. 7 καὶ τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον τούτῳ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀκατάσκευον φαίνεται εἶναι καί, ὡς ἂν ἰδιώτης τις εἰπεῖν δύναιτο, [τὸ] εἰρημένον.....παρὰ δὲ Ἰσαίῳ κατεσκεύασται τὸ δοκοῦν εἶναι ἀφελὲς καὶ οὐ λέληθεν ὅτι ἐστὶ ῥητορικόν. Cp. Diog. Laert. vii. 59 κατασκευὴ δέ ἐστι λέξις ἐκπεφευγυῖα τὸν ἰδιωτισμόν.—From this rhetorical use of κατασκευή is to be distinguished the logical (e.g. *de Lysia* c. 24, π. ὕψ. c. 11).

κατορθοῦν. *ad Pomp.* 90 28, 94 5, 104 2, 104 3, 114 11. *Of correct and successful* writing. Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 202 (s.v. κατόρθωμα).

κοινός. *ad Amm.* i. 56 16, 74 19. *ad Amm.* ii. 158 4. *Current, ordinary.*

κοινότης. *ad Pomp.* 98 26. *Familiar usage.* Cp. Isocr. *Antid.* 316 *τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα.* So *κοινός ad Pomp.* 124 25: cp. *de Isocr.* c. 11 *τοῖς κυρίοις καὶ συνήθεσι καὶ κοινοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀμφότεροι κέχρηνται, de Dinarcho* c. 2 *ὀνόματα κοινὰ καὶ περιτρέχοντα* (*περιτρέχοντα* = 'current').

κομψός. *ad Pomp.* 98 5, *ad Amm.* ii. 156 12. *Elegant, superfine, precious.* Cp. *de Isocr.* c. 12 *συμβούλῳ δὲ δὴ περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης λέγοντι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχοντι κίνδυνον ἐν δικασταῖς τὰ κομψὰ καὶ θεατρικὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη ταῦτα οὐκ οἶδα ἥντινα δύναιτο ἂν παρασχεῖν ὠφέλειαν, μᾶλλον δὲ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ βλάβης ἂν αἰτια γένοιτο.* Norden, *op. cit.* i. p. 69 n. 1: "*κομψόν* zierlich, dann überhaupt geistreich (besser entsprechen französich *précieux*, englisch *euphuism*, die italienischen *concetti*) stammt aus der alten Sophistenzeit."

κόρος. *ad Pomp.* 110 11 (cp. 110 18). *Satiety.*

κυκλικός. *ad Pomp.* 126 8. *Recurring, regular.*

κύριος. *ad Pomp.* 98 13, 114 25. *Authoritative, accredited, current.* Cp. *de Lysia* c. 3 (*ἀρετὴ*) *ἡ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων ὀνομάτων ἐκφέρουσα τὰ νοούμενα, de Thucyd.* c. 22 *εἴς τε τὴν κυρίαν φράσιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τροπικήν,* Aristot. *Poetics* c. 21 *ἅπαν δὲ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἢ κύριον ἢ γλῶττα ἢ μεταφορὰ ἢ κόσμος ἢ πεποιημένον ἢ ἐπεκτεταμένον ἢ ὑφῃρημένον ἢ ἐξηλλαγμένον. λέγω δὲ κύριον μὲν ᾧ χρῶνται ἕκαστοι, γλῶτταν δὲ ᾧ ἕτεροι, ὥστε φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ γλῶτταν καὶ κύριον εἶναι δυνατὸν τὸ αὐτό, μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς δέ· τὸ γὰρ σίγυνον Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα.* The Latin equivalent for *ὀνόματα κύρια* will be 'verba propria': also 'dominantia' (Wilkins, *Epistles of Horace*, p. 380). Cp. *π. ὕψ.* p. 202 (s.v. *κυριολογία*).

λάλος. *ad Pomp.* 98 5. *Loquacious.*

λεκτικός. *ad Pomp.* 92 27, 112 28, 116 11. Usually joined with some such noun as *χαρακτήρ*: *belonging to the department of style* (as opposed to that of subject-matter, *πραγματικός*). Cp. *de Thucyd.* c. 34 *διελόμενος καὶ ταύτην διχῇ τὴν θεωρίαν εἴς τε τὸ πραγματικὸν μέρος καὶ εἰς τὸ λεκτικόν.*

λέξις. *ad Pomp.* 98 26, etc. *Style.* Strictly *λέξις* refers to *diction*, but (like *φράσις* and *ἑρμηνεία*) it is often used in the general sense of *literary expression.* It was one of the five parts into which the art of rhetoric was sometimes divided: *εὕρεσις* (*inventio*), *τάξις* (*dispositio*), *λέξις* (*elocutio*), *μνήμη* (*memoria*), *ὑπόκρισις* (*pronuntiatio*).

λεπτός. *ad Pomp.* 96 24. *Subtle, precise.* Cp. Lat. *subtilis*, with its three metaphorical senses of: (1) delicate, (2) precise, (3) plain.

λῆμμα. *ad Amm.* i. 54 12, δι' ἀναγκαίων συνάγεται λημμάτων, 'is a conclusion reached by indisputable *data*, *presuppositions*, *premisses*.' The expression is Aristotelian. Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 202.

λιγυρός. *ad Pomp.* 98 4. *Clear utterance* (τὸ λιγυρόν)..

λόγοι. *ad Pomp.* 90 23, 90 25, 92 1, 92 9, 92 21, 94 1, 94 3, 94 6, etc. *Speeches, discourses, style, oratory, literature.* Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 203. For λόγοι in reference to Plato's dialogues, cp. Aristot. *Polit.* ii. 6 τὸ μὲν οὖν περιττὸν ἔχουσι πάντες οἱ τοῦ Σωκράτους λόγοι καὶ τὸ κομψὸν καὶ τὸ καινοτόμον καὶ τὸ ζητητικόν.

μεγαλοπρεπής. *ad Pomp.* 102 28, 116 13, 124 25. *Stately, grand.* Joined with ὑψηλός and παρακεκινδυνευμένος in the first of these passages. Opposed to λιτός in *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 8.

μειρακιώδης. *ad Pomp.* 98 21, *ad Amm.* ii. 156 9. *With youthful airs and graces, foppish, affected.* τὸ μειρακιῶδες is fully characterised in π. ὕψ. c. 3 § 4 τὸ δὲ μειρακιῶδες ἄντικρυς ὑπεναντίον τοῖς μεγέθεσι· ταπεινὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅλου καὶ μικρόψυχον καὶ τῷ ὄντι κακὸν ἀγεννέστατον. τί ποτ' οὖν τὸ μειρακιῶδές ἐστιν; ἢ δῆλον ὡς σχολαστικὴ νόησις, ὑπὸ περιεργασίας λήγουσα εἰς ψυχρότητα; ὀλισθαίνουσι δ' εἰς τοῦτο τὸ γένος ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ πεποιημένου καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐποκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς τὸ ῥωπικὸν καὶ κακόζηλον. See the excellent note on the word in Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa* i. pp. 69, 70. Cp. Wilkins, *Epistles of Horace*, p. 383: "*iuvenentur*, a word coined doubtless by Horace, on the analogy of *augurari, auspicari, interpretari, velitari*, etc. (Roby § 961), to represent νεανιεύεσθαι or μειρακιεύεσθαι." So *adulescentiaris* = νεανιεύη, Norden i. 70.

μελαίνειν. *ad Pomp.* 98 9. *To blacken, obfuscate, obscure.*

μέλλων. *ad Amm.* ii. 148 10. *Future tense*: χρόνος.

μέρος. *ad Pomp.* 104 2. *Branch, department.* Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 203.

μεταβολή. *ad Pomp.* 110 20. *Variety of style.* Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 203.

μεταφορά. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 18. *Transferred use, strained use.* Here used in much the same sense as διαφορά, which is found in the parallel passage of the *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* Also: *metaphor* (or *simile*), *ad Amm.* i. 66 19.

μετοχή. *ad Amm.* ii. 144 22. *Participle.* So μετοχικὸν ὄνομα *ibid.* 148 12, and μετοχικῶν (sc. ὀνομάτων s. μορίων) *ibid.* 134 11.

μετωνυμία. *ad Pomp.* 98 16. *Metonymy.* Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 93, "hanc ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores, quia quasi summutantur verba pro verbis, μετωνυμίαν grammatici vocant, quod nomina transferuntur"; Quintil. *Inst. Or.* viii. 6, 23, "nec procul ab hoc genere (sc. synecdoche) discedit μετωνυμία, quae est nominis pro nomine positio. cuius vis est pro eo quod dicitur, causam propter quam dicitur ponere; sed, ut ait Cicero, ὑπαλλαγὴν rhetores dicunt." Sandys' edition of Cic. *Orat.* p. 103, "although metonymy may be regarded as coming under the head of metaphor in its widest sense (*de Orat.* iii. 169 ad fin.), there is a distinction. In *metaphor* another and a figurative expression takes the place of the literal one; in *metonymy* another literal expression (especially a name) is substituted for the proper literal one."

μῖγμα. *ad Pomp.* 98 18. *A blend, a combination*: of two different styles artificially united.

μόριον. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 14, 138 17. *Part of speech.* τὰ ῥηματικὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως (in 138 17) = *partes orationis verbales.* Cp. *de Comp.* c. 7, αὐτὰ τὰ πρῶτα μόρια καὶ στοιχεῖα τῆς λέξεως, *ibid.* c. 17 πᾶν ὄνομα καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ ἄλλο μόριον λέξεως.

νόημα. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 21, 136 7, 152 5. *Thought, thought as expressed in a sentence.* In 134 15 Reiske retains the MS. reading νοημάτων, and translates ἐν δὲ τοῖς συνδετικοῖς καὶ τοῖς προθετικοῖς μορίοις καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς διαρθροῦσι τὰς τῶν νοημάτων δυνάμεις ποιητοῦ τρόπον ἐνεξουσιάζων by "in coniunctionibus et praepositionibus, iis praesertim quae sententiarum robur et vim distinguunt, poetica prorsus utitur licentia."

νοῦς. *ad Pomp.* 98 10, 112 25. *Mind; meaning.*

ξένος. *ad Pomp.* 98 14, *ad Amm.* ii. 132 18. *Strange, foreign.* The attraction which τὸ ξενικόν had for the Athenians may be illustrated from Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 2, 3 διὸ δεῖ ποιεῖν ξένην τὴν διάλεκτον· θαυμασταὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀπόντων εἰσίν· ἡδὺ δὲ τὸ θαυμαστόν, iii. 2, 8 τὸ σαφὲς καὶ τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχει μάλιστα ἡ μεταφορά, iii. 7, 11 τὰ ξένα μάλιστα ἁρμόττει λέγοντι παθητικῶς, and also from Diod. Sic. *Bibl. Hist.* xii. 53 (of Gorgias) τῷ ξενίζοντι τῆς λέξεως ἐξέπληξε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας εὐφυεῖς καὶ φιλολόγους. πρῶτος γὰρ ἐχρήσατο τῆς λέξεως σχηματισμοῖς περιττοτέροις, καὶ τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ διαφέρουσιν ἀντιθέτοις καὶ ἰσοκώλοις καὶ παρίσοις καὶ ὁμοιοτελεύτοις, καί τισιν ἑτέροις τοιούτοις, ἃ τότε μὲν διὰ τὸ ξένον τῆς κατασκευῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἠξιοῦτο, νῦν δὲ περιεργίαν ἔχειν δοκεῖ, καὶ φαίνεται καταγέλαστον, πλεονάκις καὶ κατακόρως τιθέμενον.

[The above passages are quoted in Jebb's *Attic Orators* i. pp. cxxv, cxxvi. The last, because of its general importance for the purpose of this Glossary, is given here at greater length.]

ὄγκος. *ad Pomp.* 102 9. *Pomp.* ὄγκος (like ξένος supra) is a term which may be used in a complimentary (cp. *π. ὑπ.* p. 204) or a depreciatory sense, according to the standpoint of the critic. Volkmann (*Rhet. d. Gr. u. Röm.* p. 557) errs in giving ὄγκος as an exact synonym of μέγεθος, and in adding "das Wort ὄγκος bezeichnet bei den Rhetoren keineswegs, wie unser Schwulst, etwas schlechtes, sondern das *os magnum*, die *sublimitas*, s. Göller zu Demetr. S. 113. Chrysost. de sacerd. iv. p. 305, 50: εἰ μὲν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἁπήτουν καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον καὶ τὴν Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητα καὶ τὸ Πλάτωνος ὕψος. Vom ὄγκος des Aeschylus sprach ja schon Sophokles nach Plut. de prof. in virt. 7 p. 79 B."

οἰκονομία. *ad Pomp.* 116 22, 122 5. *Arrangement of material.* Cp. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* iii. 3, 9: "*oeconomiae*, quae Graece appellata ex cura rerum domesticarum et hic per abusionem posita nomine Latino caret."

ὁμοειδής. *ad Pomp.* 114 26, 118 24, 120 6, 126 9 (ὁμοείδεια). *Uniform, wanting in variety.*

ὄνομα. *ad Pomp.* 96 26, 98 11, 98 12, 98 13, *ad Amm.* ii. 134 1, 134 2 (ὀνοματικῶς), 134 3, 134 11 (ὀνοματικόν: cp. s.v. μετοχή supra), 136 6, 138 3, 138 4, 144 21, 148 12. *Word; noun.* Wilkins *Hor. Ep.* p. 381: "*nomina*.....*verba*: ὀνόματα.....ῥήματα, 'nouns and verbs,' covered with Plato the whole of language (cp. *Cratyl.* 431 B, λόγοι γάρ που, ὡς ἐγῷμαι, ἡ τούτων [ῥημάτων καὶ ὀνομάτων] ξύνθεσίς ἐστιν: cp. 425 A): and though Aristotle added the σύνδεσμος and the Stoics completed the 'parts of speech,' the names of the two chief classes were often used in the same wide sense, as here."

ὄργανον. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 10. *Instrument, organ.* Ernesti, *op. cit.* p. 233: "ὄργανα et χρώματα distinguit, quorum illa *formam* externam, haec *vim* et *significationem* verbis addunt."

οὐδέτερος. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 9, 144 7, 144 17. *Of the neuter gender.* The triple division of the genders (γένη) into ἀρρενικόν, θηλυκόν, οὐδέτερον is no doubt of Stoic origin.

παθητικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 6, 140 15, 142 1. *Passive* (παθητικὸν ῥῆμα). See also under πάθος.

πάθος. *ad Pomp.* 114 13, 124 10. *Passions, emotions.* So τὸ παθητικόν (*ad Amm.* ii. 136 15) = *the power of stirring the emotions.*

Cp. Cic. *Orat.* c. 37, "duo sunt enim, quae bene tractata ab oratore admirabilem eloquentiam faciant; quorum alterum est, quod Graeci ἠθικὸν vocant, ad naturas et ad mores et ad omnem vitae consuetudinem adcommodatum; alterum, quod eidem παθητικὸν nominant, quo perturbantur animi et concitantur, in quo uno regnat oratio." Sandys' note *ad loc.* should be consulted. Volkmann *Rhet.* 273: "Das Griechische πάθος—August. *de Civ. Dei* viii. 147, bemerkt mit Recht: *verbum de verbo πάθος passio diceretur, motus animi contra rationem*—wurde allgemein Lateinisch durch *affectus* wiedergegeben."

παιδιώδης. *ad Pomp.* 128 14. *Puerile.* From παιδίον: cp. παιδαριώδης. [In Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* vii. 8, 1150 B it is from παιδιά: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ παιδιώδης ἀκόλαστος εἶναι, ἔστι δὲ μαλακός· ἡ γὰρ παιδιὰ ἄνεσίς ἐστιν, εἴπερ ἀνάπαυσις.]

πανηγυρικός. *ad Pomp.* 120 24. *Panegyrical.*

παράδειγμα. *ad Amm.* i. 62 24. *An 'example.'* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 2, 8 (on p. 64 supra).

παρακεκινδυνευμένος. *ad Pomp.* 104 1. *Venturesome, audacious.* Cp. Aristoph. *Ran.* 98, ὅστις φθέγξεται | τοιουτονί τι παρακεκινδυνευμένον.

παραμβολή. *ad Pomp.* 126 13, *ad Amm.* ii. 152 24. *Insertion, digression, episode.* The same meaning as παρέκβασις and παρενθήκη. Reiske (vi. p. 1138) thinks that the MS. reading παραβολάς can be retained, but he does not give any other example of the sense he would here assign to the word: "παραβολὰς videtur appellare τὰ παρεμβεβλημένα, quae alii ἐπεισόδια appellant, *adscititias, aliunde petitas, praeter rem ingestas, a re alienas narrationes.*"

παρέμπτωσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 22. *Insertion.* αἱ μεταξὺ παρεμπτώσεις = *parentheses*, 152 6 *ibid.*

παρίσωσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 1, 156 10. *Parallelism in structure.* Sandys, *Cic. Orat.* p. 45: "The simplest classification of these figures is that represented in the following table:—

(i) ἀντίθεσις = parallelism in sense.

(ii) παρίσωσις = parallelism in structure.

(iii) παρομοίωσις = parallelism in sound.

(iii) is subdivided into three species:—

(1) ὁμοιοκάταρκτον.

(2) ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

(3) παρονομασία."

Cp. *de Lysia* c. 14 *τῶν περὶ τὰς ἀντιθέσεις καὶ παρισώσεις καὶ παρομοιώσεις καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις σχήματα διεστουδακότων*, which is translated as follows in Desrousseaux-Egger's edition of the *de Lysia*: "ceux qui travaillent les antithèses, les symétries, les ressemblances de mots et autres figures semblables." Aristotle *Rhet.* iii. 9, 9 *ἀντίθεσις μὲν οὖν τὸ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, παρίσωσις δ' ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, παρομοίωσις δ' ἐὰν ὅμοια τὰ ἴσχατα ἔχῃ ἑκάτερον τὸ κῶλον.* See also *Rhet. ad Alex.* 26—28. In both the passages of the *ad Amm.* ii. there is a special reference to the employment of these figures by Gorgias and his school.

παρομοίωσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 1, 158 10. *Parallelism in sound.* See under *παρίσωσις*.

παρονομασία. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 2. *Assonance, play on words.* See under *παρίσωσις*. Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 135 "cum...verba...leviter commutata ponuntur"; id. *de Orat.* iii. 54, 206 "paullum immutatum verbum atque deflexum"; Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 11, 6 *τὰ παρὰ γράμμα σκώμματα. Annominatio* is the Latin equivalent: cp. <Cornificius> *ad Herennium* iv. 29 "annominatio est, cum ad idem verbum et ad idem nomen acceditur commutatione unius litterae aut litterarum; aut ad res dissimiles similia verba accommodantur."

παρών. *ad Amm.* ii. 148 9. *Present tense*: *χρόνος*.

παχύς. *ad Pomp.* 98 9. *Coarse, heavy.* Cp. *de Isaeo* c. 19 *Ἀλκιδάμαντα δὲ τὸν ἀκουστὴν αὐτοῦ παχύτερον ὄντα τὴν λέξιν.* Cp. *π. ὕψ.* c. 29 *εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀβλεμὲς προσπίπτει, κουφολογίας τε ὄζον καὶ παχύτατον.* Cic. *Orat.* viii. 25 "asciverunt aptum suis auribus opimum quoddam et tamquam adipatae dictionis genus," where Sandys remarks "Similarly elsewhere varieties of style are discriminated with the help of metaphors borrowed from the human body, its blood, bones, sinews, muscles, etc., see in Quint x. 1 §§ 36 and 60 (with Mayor's notes), and esp. the elaborate comparison in Tac. *dial. de orat.* 21 'oratio autem, *sicut corpus hominis*, ea demum pulchra est in qua non eminent venae nec ossa numerantur, sed temperatus ac bonus sanguis implet membra et exsurgit toris ipsosque nervos rubor tegit et decor commendat'."

πεζός. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 13. *Prosaic.* Cp. Quint. x. 1 § 81.

πειθώ. *ad Pomp.* 114 21. *Persuasiveness.*

πεποιημένος. *ad Pomp.* 98 14. *Artificial, specially coined.* Cp. Aristot. *Poet.* xxi. *ᾧ πεποιημένον δ' ἐστὶν ὃ ὅλως μὴ καλούμενον ὑπὸ τινῶν αὐτὸς τίθεται ὁ ποιητής, δοκεῖ γάρ ἔνια εἶναι τοιαῦτα, οἷον τὰ κέρατα ἑρνύγας καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἀρητῆρα.*

περίεργος. *ad Pomp.* 118 27. *Over-wrought, curious.* Cp. *de Lysia* c. 6 ταύτην ὀλίγοι μὲν ἐμιμήσαντο, Δημοσθένης δὲ καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο πλὴν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς οὐδὲ ἀφελῶς ὥσπερ Λυσίας χρησάμενος αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ περιέργως καὶ πικρῶς. Aeschines taunted Demosthenes with περιεργία and τὸ πικρόν: *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 55 ἃ δέ γε Αἰσχίνης περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει συκοφαντῶν, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τοτὲ μὲν ὡς πικροῖς καὶ περιέργοις ὀνόμασι χρωμένου, τοτὲ δ' ὡς ἀηδέσι καὶ φορτικοῖς, ῥᾳδίας ἔχει τὰς ἀπολογίας. See also *ibid.* c. 35. In *de Lysia* c. 15 ἀφελής and ἀπερίεργος are found conjoined. Περίεργος is good Modern Greek (both literary and colloquial) in the sense of 'curious' or 'strange.'

περίοδος. *ad Pomp.* 120 7, 126 9, *ad Amm.* ii. 152 19. *Period.* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* iii. 9, 3 λέγω δὲ περίοδον λέξιν ἔχουσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν αὐτὴν καθ' αὑτὴν καὶ μέγεθος εὐσύνοπτον. With the last part of Aristotle's definition may be compared Dionysius' view (*de Comp.* c. 23) that, in the γλαφυρὰ καὶ ἀνθηρὰ σύνθεσις, the περιόδου χρόνος should be οὗ πνεῦμα τέλειον ἀνδρὸς κρατήσει.

περιοχή. *ad Pomp.* 110 27. *Section.* Cp. the use of περικοπή.

περιττός. *ad Pomp.* 100 7. *Unusual, far-fetched, 'exquisite.'* The word is opposed to ἀπέριττος (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 8), and to κοινὸς καὶ δημώδης (π. ὕψ. c. 40, 2). Its meaning is sufficiently defined by such a sentence as: δεχέσθω δέ τις τὴν περιεργίαν τῶν ὀνομάτων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ <λεγομένην> λέγεσθαι νυνὶ περιττὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ ἐξηλλαγμένην τῶν ἐν ἔθει (*de adm. vi* c. 56). The noun περιττολογία is found in *ad Pomp.* 98 5.

περίφρασις. *ad Pomp.* 98 12. *Periphrasis, circumlocution.*

πιθανός. *ad Amm.* i. 66 16. *Persuasive, plausible.*

πικρός. *ad Pomp.* 114 9. *Repellent, odious*: the opposite of ἡδύς. Cp. πικρά (112 23 *ibid.*) = *harsh.*—τὸ πικρόν (*ad Amm.* ii. 136 13), and ἡ πικρότης (*ad Pomp.* 124 28), = *incisiveness, pungency.*

πίνος. *ad Pomp.* 98 1. *Mellowing deposit, tinge of antiquity.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 39 διαφαίνεται δέ τις ὁμοία κἀν τούτοις εὐγένεια καὶ σεμνότης ἁρμονίας τὸν ἀρχαῖον φυλάττουσα πίνον, *ibid.* c. 44 αὐχμοῦ μεστὸν εἶναι καὶ πίνου, *ibid.* c. 45 τῆς μὲν ἡδείας συνθέσεως ἐλάττω μοῖραν ἐχούσας, τῆς δὲ αὐστηρᾶς καὶ πεπινωμένης πλείω, *de Comp.* c. 22 ἥκιστα ἀνθηρά, μεγαλόφρων, αὐθέκαστος, ἀκόμψευτος, τὸν ἀρχαϊσμὸν καὶ τὸν πίνον ἔχουσα κάλλος, *ibid.* c. 22 εὐπινῆ καὶ αὐστηρὰν πεποίηκε τὴν ἁρμονίαν, *ibid.* c. 23 σχήμασί τε οὐ τοῖς ἀρχαιοπρεπεστάτοις, οὐδ' ὅσοις ἡ σεμνότης τις ἢ βάρος ἢ πίνος πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τρυφεροῖς καὶ μαλακοῖς ὡς τὰ πολλὰ χρῆσθαι φιλεῖ, Cic. *ad Att.* xiv. 7 (Tyrrell and

Purser v. 232) "a Cicerone mihi litterae sane πεπινωμέναι et bene longae. ceterum autem vel fingi possunt: πίνος litterarum significat doctiorem," *ibid.* xv. 16 a "tandem a Cicerone tabellarius, et mehercule litterae πεπινωμένως ('in the true classic style,' Tyrrell and Purser v. 299) scriptae, quod ipsum προκοπὴν aliquam significat, itemque ceteri praeclara scribunt." Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 4: Ἀπελλῆς δὲ γράφων τὸν κεραυνοφόρον οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τὴν χρόαν, ἀλλὰ φαιότερον καὶ πεπινωμένον ἐποίησεν. The foregoing passages (particularly that of Plutarch) point to the metaphor being that of the oxidation of bronze statues, weather-marked and mellowed, bearing upon them the patina so highly prized by the connoisseur. A scholium on *ad Pomp.* 98 1 (and on the corresponding passage of the *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.*) seems to suggest a different explanation: πίνος ὁ ῥύπος ἤτοι ὁ ἐπικείμενος χνοῦς ὡς ἐπὶ μήλων καὶ ἀπίων καὶ δαμασκηνῶν. —See also π. ὕψ. p. 199 (εὐπίνεια), and (for the quantity of πίνος) Soph. *Oed. C.* 1259 γέρων γέροντι συγκατῴκηκεν πίνος.

For the use of art-analogies by the Greek rhetoricians, cp. E. Bertrand *De Pictura et Sculptura apud Veteres Rhetores*, J. Brzoska *De Canone Decem Oratorum Atticorum Quaestiones* (appendix), J. E. Sandys *Cic. Orat.* pp. lxxiii, lxxiv, F. Blass *Griech. Bereds.* pp. 222—231, H. Nettleship *Lectures and Essays* (Second Series) pp. 54—56, B. Bosanquet *History of Aesthetic*, pp. 102, 103.

πίστις. *ad Amm.* i. 54 11, *ad Amm.* ii. 130 16. *Proof.* In *de Lysia* c. 19 (τῶν καλουμένων ἐντέχνων πίστεων), we have a reference to the Aristotelian division of πίστεις into ἄτεχνοι and ἔντεχνοι: τῶν δὲ πίστεων αἱ μὲν ἄτεχνοί εἰσιν αἱ δ' ἔντεχνοι. ἄτεχνα δὲ λέγω ὅσα μὴ δι' ἡμῶν πεπόρισται ἀλλὰ προϋπῆρχεν, οἷον μάρτυρες βάσανοι συγγραφαὶ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἔντεχνα δὲ ὅσα διὰ τῆς μεθόδου καὶ δι' ἡμῶν κατασκευασθῆναι δυνατόν, ὥστε δεῖ τούτων τοῖς μὲν χρήσασθαι τὰ δὲ εὑρεῖν (Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 2, 2).

πλάσμα. *ad Pomp.* 118 7. *Mould, form, manner.* Cp. *de Comp.* c. 4 (passage quoted on p. 11 n. 3 supra), and π. ὕψ. c. 15, 8.

πληθυντικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 7. *Plural.*

ποιητικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 140 16, 142 3. *Active*: δραστήριος, ἐνεργητικός. In *ad Amm.* ii. 136 10, 136 21 ποιητικός probably means *artificial* or *elaborate*, rather than simply *poetical*: so Ernesti p. 275. But cp. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 16.

ποικίλλω. *ad Pomp.* 116 25. *To embroider, diversify.*

ποικίλος. *ad Pomp.* 110 11, 110 20. *Varied.*

πολιτικός. *ad Amm.* i. 54 17, *ad Pomp.* 92 8, 92 21, 126 19. *Public, civil*: used with λόγος, or λόγοι, in the sense of *civil oratory*, —the practical eloquence which is applied to public affairs, as distinguished from that of the school. πολιτικὸς λόγος, or *the oratory of public life*, covers therefore a more extensive field than *political oratory* (λόγος δημηγορικός). Indeed, in the so-called *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* the word ῥητορική is not found, its place being taken by λόγοι πολιτικοί: e.g. δύο γένη τῶν πολιτικῶν εἰσι λόγων, τὸ μὲν δημηγορικόν, τὸ δὲ δικανικόν (*Rhet. ad Alex.*, init.). By Philodemus, the representative of the Epicurean rhetoric, the ἐπιδεικτικὸν γένος is classed as σοφιστικὸς λόγος. It was the great ambition of Dionysius to revive the conception of oratory as πολιτικὸς λόγος, in which term he would include not only the γένος δημηγορικόν and the γένος δικανικόν, but also any examples of the γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν which had a public bearing: the γένος ἐπιδεικτικόν as a whole (including μέθοδος γενεθλιακῶν, ἐπιθαλαμίων, ἐπιταφίων κ.τ.λ.) he would, like Philodemus, regard as σοφιστικόν. Dionysius' lost treatise ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτικῆς φιλοσοφίας (*vide* p. 7 supra) did not, therefore, deal with 'political philosophy' in our sense of the words, but with that civil and cultured oratory the practice of which befits the citizen of a free state: it was a defence of the *philosophia civilis* of Isocrates.—Writers unversed in the technical language of Greek rhetoric have sometimes made the strange mistake of taking κράτιστος δὴ πάντων τῶν πολιτικῶν λόγων ὁ Μενέξενος (*de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 23) to mean "the *Menexenus* is far the best of all the political discourses (i.e. the *Republic* among others: cp. Thrasyllus' division) of Plato," instead of rendering "the *Menexenus* is claimed (sc. by some infatuated admirers of Plato) to be the finest specimen of civil oratory." Cp. *Menex.* (ad fin.) ἀλλ' ὅπως μου μὴ κατερεῖς, ἵνα καὶ αὖθίς σοι πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους παρ' αὐτῆς πολιτικοὺς ἀπαγγέλλω.

πολύμορφος. *ad Pomp.* 122 16. *Multiform, many-sided.*

πολύπλοκος. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 23. *Tangled, involved.* Cp. πολύπλοκον νόημα, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 463 and πολυπλοκωτέρας γυναικὸς *ibid.* 434.

πολυτροπία. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 24. *Variety.*

πομπικός. *ad Pomp.* 124 26. *Processional, stately.*

πραγματικός. *ad Pomp.* 92 28, 102 4, 112 27, 116 11, 116 27 124 22, 126 12. *Relating to subject-matter*: opp. λεκτικός.

πρέπον. *ad Pomp.* 114 25. *Propriety.*

πρεπώδης. *ad Pomp.* 116 23. *Becoming.*

πρόθεσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 1, 132 8. *Statement, proposition*

προθετικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 14. *Preposition*: with μόριον.

προοίμιον. *ad Amm.* ii. 152 9. *Introduction.*

προσηγορία. *ad Amm.* ii. 144 21, 146 6, 134 5 (προσηγορικόν). *Common noun, appellative.*—For the history of the parts of speech, cp. Dionys. Hal. *de Comp.* c. 2, ταῦτα (στοιχεῖα) δὲ Θεοδέκτης μὲν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ οἱ κατ' ἐκείνους φιλοσοφήσαντες τοὺς χρόνους ἄχρι τριῶν προήγαγον, ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα καὶ συνδέσμους πρῶτα μέρη τῆς λέξεως ποιοῦντες. οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς γενόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Στωϊκῆς αἱρέσεως ἡγεμόνες ἕως τεττάρων προυβίβασαν, χωρίσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων τὰ ἄρθρα. εἶθ' οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τὰ προσηγορικὰ διελόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνοματικῶν πέντε ἀπεφήναντο τὰ πρῶτα μέρη. ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ τὰς ἀντωνυμίας ἀποζεύξαντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἕκτον στοιχεῖον τοῦτο ἐποίησαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐπιρρήματα διεῖλον ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τὰς προθέσεις ἀπὸ τῶν συνδέσμων καὶ τὰς μετοχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν προσηγορικῶν. Dionysius Thrax, *Ars Grammatica*, p. 23 Uhlig, τοῦ δὲ λόγου μέρη ἐστὶν ὀκτώ· ὄνομα, ῥῆμα, μετοχή, ἄρθρον, ἀντωνυμία, πρόθεσις, ἐπίρρημα, σύνδεσμος. ἡ γὰρ προσηγορία ὡς εἶδος τῷ ὀνόματι ὑποβέβληται. It would appear from these statements that ὄνομα might include προσηγορία, while προσηγορία could cover participles (μετοχαί) and adjectives (ἐπίθετα) as well as common nouns.—The history of Greek Grammar in ancient times is traced in Steinthal's *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern.*

πρόσωπον. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 17, 150 3. *Person.* Same sense as σῶμα 150 15.

πτῶσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 11, 146 7, 146 14. *Case.*

πυκνός. *ad Pomp.* 118 27, *ad Amm.* ii. 136 13. *Terse.*

ῥῆμα. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 3, 134 6, 146 21. *Verb.* So τὸ ῥηματικόν = *verbal form*, 134 2, and τὰ ῥηματικὰ μόρια τῆς λέξεως 138 17.

ῥητορική. *ad Pomp.* 96 10 etc. *Rhetoric.* See under φιλόσοφος, and under πολιτικός.

σαφήνεια. *ad Pomp.* 96 26. *Perspicuity.*

σαφής. *ad Pomp.* 118 3. *Clear.* [ἀσαφής = *obscure*: *ad Pomp.* 110 28.]

σημαῖνον. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 13 (τὸ σημαῖνον: τοῦ σημαίνοντος 134 12), 134 12 (τὸ σημαινόμενον), 148 16, 148 21. τὸ σημαῖνον = *the expression*: τὸ σημαινόμενον = *the thing signified, the sense.*

σημασία. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 12. *Expression.*

σημεῖον. *ad Amm.* i. 54 10: *sign, indication.* Cp. Aristot. *Rhet.* i. 2, 14 λέγεται γὰρ ἐνθυμήματα ἐξ εἰκότων καὶ σημείων. See also under ἐνθύμημα p. 190 supra.

σημαδής. *ad Pomp.* 118 26. *Peculiar, cryptic, portentous.* Cp. *de Isocr.* c. 2 καὶ γὰρ αὕτη πέφευγεν ἀπηρχαιωμένων καὶ σημειωδῶν ὀνομάτων τὴν ἀπειροκαλίαν.

σημείωσις. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 18. *Expression.*

σκληρός. *ad Pomp.* 98 17. *Harsh.*

σκολιός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 23. *Tortuous.*

σολοικισμός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 19, 146 15 (σολοικίζειν). *Solecism.* See Volkmann *Rhet. der Griechen u. Römer* p. 396 (with note).

στριφνός. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 13. *Firm, solid:* the reference being to the *close texture* of the language of Thucydides. But it may be doubted whether in this and similar passages στρυφνός is not the right reading. Cp. Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 35: "He (sc. Dionysius in *de Thucyd.* c. 53) adds τὸ στρυφνόν, which seems to be a metaphor of the same kind as αὐστηρόν, and to mean 'his biting flavour.'" See also *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 34, *de Comp.* c. 22.

στρογγύλος. *ad Pomp.* 118 27. *Compact, rounded, terse.* Lat. *rotundus.* Cp. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 43 τῶν δὲ περιόδων αἱ μέν εἰσιν εὐκόρυφοι καὶ στρογγύλαι ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τόρνου, *ibid.* c. 18 ἡ δ' ἐναγώνιος στρογγύλη τε εἶναι βούλεται καὶ συγκεκροτημένη καὶ μηδὲν ἔχουσα κολπῶδες: also *ibid.* c. 19, *de Isocr.* c. 2, *de Lys.* cc. 6, 13. Cic. *de Fin.* iv. 3, 7 "apte ac rotunde," *Brut.* 272 "verborum et delectus elegans et apta et quasi rotunda constructio." In Aristoph. Fragm. 397 the reference is to the style of Euripides: χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρογγύλῳ.

συγγραφεύς. *ad Pomp.* 106 27, 114 14, 114 17. *Historian.* Dionysius uses in the same sense ἀνὴρ ἱστορικός (*ad Pomp.* 110 4, 110 24) and λογογράφοι ('chroniclers,' or perhaps rather 'prose-writers,' *de Comp.* c. 16). συγγραφεύς is also used by Dionysius (e.g. *de adm. vi dic. in Dem.* c. 37, *de Thucyd.* c. 1) of a prose-writer, as distinguished from ποιητής. Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 207.

σύγκρισις. *ad Pomp.* 92 9, 92 18. *Comparison.* So συγκρίνων, *ibid.* 94 6.

συλλαβή. *ad Pomp.* 110 13. *Syllable.*

συλλογισμός. *ad Amm.* i. 64 1. *Syllogism.* See under ἐνθύμημα p. 190 supra.

συμβουλευτικός. *ad. Pomp.* 120 25. *Deliberative.* With reference to the three γένη of rhetoric: συμβουλευτικόν, δικανικόν, ἐπιδεικτικόν.

συμπλοκή. *ad Pomp.* 126 8. *Intertwining, blending*: sc. τῶν φωνηέντων γραμμάτων. What Dionysius seems to mean is that there would have been more rugged force in the best passages of Theopompus if he had occasionally allowed the σύγκρουσις, or clashing, of vowels.

συναγωγή. *ad Pomp.* 122 9. *Collection.*

συνδετικός. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 14. *Conjunction*: with μόριον.

συνήθεια. *ad Amm.* ii. 146 5. *Usage.*

συνήθης. *ad Pomp.* 118 3. *Customary, ordinary.*

σύνταξις. *ad Amm.* i. 62 11. *Treatise, work.*

συντάσσεσθαι. *ad Amm.* i. 72 11, etc. *To compose.*

συντομία. *ad Pomp.* 114 6. *Conciseness.*

συστρέφειν. *ad Pomp.* 98 11. *To compress.*

σχῆμα. *ad Pomp.* 102 16, 120 4, 134 17. *Figure.* Jebb, *Att. Or.* i. 29, "these (the technical figures of rhetoric) have been well distinguished as 'figures of language' (σχήματα λέξεως) and 'figures of thought' (σχήματα διανοίας)—the first class including various forms of assonance and of artificial symmetry between clauses; the second including irony, abrupt pauses, feigned perplexity, rhetorical question and so forth. Caecilius of Calacte [was] the author of this distinction." *ibid.* ii. 64, n. 2, "Quintilian (ix. 3, § 2) subdivides the 'figures of language' as (1) grammatical—mere *peculiarities* of pathology or syntax, with no rhetorical purpose—e.g. the schema Pindaricum: (2) rhetorical—where a certain effect is meant to be wrought by the combination." *ibid.* p. 63, "a 'figure' (sc. as distinguished from a 'trope') is an affair of whole clauses or sentences." Cic. *Brut.* 69 "ornari orationem Graeci putant, si verborum immutationibus utantur, quos appellant τρόπους, et sententiarum orationisque formis quae vocant σχήματα."

σχηματίζειν. *ad Pomp.* 120 8, *ad Amm.* ii. 138 18, 140 3, 146 1, 146 6, 146 17, 152 19. *To construct, compose.* σχηματίζειν seems sometimes to cover the distribution and arrangement of all the elements of composition. λόγος ἐσχηματισμένος = *oratio figurata, le discours figuré.*

σχηματισμός. *ad Pomp.* 120 4, 126 10, *ad Amm.* ii. 132 20, 136 24, 148 11, 156 9. *Construction, composition: l'emploi de tours de phrase.* Cp. *de Comp.* c. 8 ἡ μὲν δὴ περὶ τὴν ἁρμογὴν τῶν κώλων θεωρία τοιαύτη· ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν σχηματισμὸν ποδαπή; οὐκ ἔστιν εἷς τρόπος τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τῶν νοημάτων· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ὡς διαποροῦντες, τὰ δὲ ὡς πυνθανόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὡς εὐχόμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπιτάττοντες, τὰ δὲ ὡς ὑποτιθέμενοι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλως πως σχηματίζοντες· οἷς ἀκολούθως καὶ τὴν λέξιν πειρώμεθα σχηματίζειν. πολλοὶ δὲ δήπου σχηματισμοὶ καὶ τῆς λέξεώς εἰσι, ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς διανοίας· οὓς οὐχ οἷόν τε κεφαλαιωδῶς περιλαβεῖν· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄπειροι, περὶ ὧν πολὺς ὁ λόγος, καὶ βαθεῖα ἡ θεωρία. For a general discussion of σχήματα, σχηματίζειν and σχηματισμός, see Ernesti *Lexicon Technologiae Graecorum Rhetoricae* pp. 338—344, and Volkmann *Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer* pp. 456 ff.

σῶμα. *ad Amm.* ii. 150 15. *Person.* Same sense as πρόσωπον 150 3.

τέρψις. *ad Pomp.* 114 21. *Charm, allurement.*

τέχνη. *ad Amm.* ii. 132 2. *Manual of rhetoric.* αἱ τέχναι, or αἱ ῥητορικαὶ τέχναι, is used specially of the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle: cp. *ad Amm.* i. 52 9, 54 1, 54 8, etc.; *de Comp.* c. 25 ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ βύβλῳ τῶν ῥητορικῶν τεχνῶν).

τεχνικός. *ad Amm.* i. 70 10. *Technical, skilful.*

τόνος. *ad Pomp.* 114 18, 126 1. *Energy.*

τόπος. *ad Amm.* i. 74 5, 80 17. *Topic.* The *loci communes*, or *common-places* of rhetoric; the general heads under which may be grouped arguments applicable to particular circumstances.

τραχύς. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 11.

τροπικός. *ad Pomp.* 98 15, 102 6, *ad Amm.* ii. 132 17. *Tropical, figurative.* For the strict meaning of 'trope,' see previous page, and further cp. Jebb *Att. Or.* ii. 59.

τύπος. *ad Pomp.* 116 28. *Form, style.* Cp. Hermog. περὶ ἰδεῶν ii. p. 415 (Spengel), καὶ ὅλως εὑρετὴς καὶ ἀρχηγὸς γενέσθαι τοῦ τύπου τοῦ πολιτικοῦ, and Greilich *Dionysius Halicarnassensis quibus potissimum vocabulis etc.* pp. 19—24.

ὑπόθεσις. *ad Pomp.* 92 24. *Subject, theme.*

ὑποθήκη. *ad Pomp.* 120 26. *Precept, homily, treatise.*

ὑπομνηματισμός. *ad Amm.* ii. 130 11. *Memoir, essay.* Cp. π. ὕψ. p. 208; Blass, *Griech. Bereds.* p. 172 n. 2; *de Comp.* c. 3 ἐμοὶ δ' ὑπομνήσεως ἕνεκα λέγοντι ἀρκεῖ ταῦτα μόνα εἰρῆσθαι.

ὑψηλός. *ad Pomp.* 96 18, 100 25, 102 28, 124 25. *Elevated.* So ὕψος, *elevation of style*, 104 5, 118 5 *ibid.*: cp. π. ὕψ. pp. 209, 210.

φιλάνθρωπος. *ad Pomp.* 96 22. *Attractive, winning.*

φιλόσοφος ῥητορική. *ad Pomp.* 96 9, 122 24. *Philosophical, or scientific, rhetoric.* The reference is to the old methodical Attic rhetoric (that of Isocrates especially), as distinguished from the later and purely empirical Asiatic rhetoric, to which Dionysius applies the epithet ἀμαθής (see p. 44 supra). For the wide sense of φιλοσοφία, cp. Jebb *Att. Or.* ii. 36 ff., 439, 444. Dionysius' high ideal of the training which the student of ἡ φιλόσοφος ῥητορική must undergo may be inferred from *ad Pomp.* 122 24.

φοβερός. *ad Pomp.* 116 4, *ad Amm.* ii. 136 14. *Awe-inspiring.*

φορτικός. *ad Pomp.* 92 29. *Vulgar, banal.*

φράσις. *ad Pomp.* 96 22. *Style, expression.*

φωνήεις. *ad Pomp.* 126 8. *Vocal.* τὰ φωνήεντα γράμματα = *vowels.*

χαρακτήρ. *ad Pomp.* 96 12, 96 18, 96 20, 100 24, 114 3, 116 11, 118 15, 124 23, *ad Amm.* ii. 130 5, 130 16, 130 17, 132 13, 136 16, 156 11. *Characteristic stamp.* Cp. Cic. *Orat.* 36 "sed in omni re difficillimum est formam, qui χαρακτὴρ Graece dicitur, exponere optimi, quod aliud aliis videtur optimum," where Sandys annotates: "the formal type of what is ideally the best, that on which the 'idea' of good is clearly stamped like the impression of a die on a coin. The usual Latin equivalent for χαρακτήρ in this sense is *nota* (46), but *forma* is here adopted in consequence of its having been already used in connexion with Cicero's application of the Platonic doctrine of ideas." See also *ibid.* 134, and Greilich *op. cit.* pp. 24—28.

χρόνος. *ad Amm.* ii. 134 18, 146 21. *Tense.*

χρῶμα. *ad Amm.* ii. 136 12. *Colour.* Ernesti *op. cit.* p. 384: "Dionysio in Ep. 2 ad Amm. cap. 2 p. 793 χρῶμα τῆς λέξεως dicitur is color, vel ea forma et ratio elocutionis, qua in sententiis imprimis vel severitas vel gravitas vel acerbitas vel vehementia aliave illius vis et indoles apparet: Colorit, Character des Ausdrucks in Rücksicht auf Sinn und Gedanken." Cp. Greilich *op. cit.* pp. 31—33.

ψυχαγωγία. *ad Pomp.* 122 21. *Persuasion, gratification.* Probably Dionysius recalls Plato's *Phaedrus* 261 A ἆρ' οὖν οὐ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἡ ῥητορικὴ ἂν εἴη τέχνη ψυχαγωγία τις διὰ λόγων κ.τ.λ., *ibid.* 355 C ἐπειδὴ λόγου δύναμις τυγχάνει ψυχαγωγία οὖσα, τὸν μέλλοντα ῥητορικὸν ἔσεσθαι ἀνάγκη εἰδέναι ψυχὴ ὅσα εἴδη ἔχει.

ψυχρός. *ad Amm.* i. 66 14. *Frigid.* Cp. Norden *op. cit.* i. 69.

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It is hoped that the following bibliographical list, which has not been confined to the 'Three Literary Letters' but covers the rhetorical writings generally, will be found fairly complete by the student who uses it. With one or two unavoidable exceptions, the editor has consulted all the books and articles included in it. The literature of the subject is scattered and unusually difficult to control.

1. Editions and Translations in Chronological Order.

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The *Ars Rhetorica*, the *De Comp. Verb.*, and *Ep. ad Amm. II.* were included in vol. i. of Aldus' *Rhetores Graeci* published at Venice in 1508. The *Ep. ad Amm. II.* had previously appeared in the *Thucydides* published by Aldus in 1502 and in that published in 1506 at Florence.—Later scholars occasionally incorporated Dionysius' essays on Lysias etc. in their editions of the Attic Orators. The essay on Isocrates had, indeed, become known in this way as early as 1493, when it was included in the Milan edition of Isocrates; the essay on Lysias became similarly known by means of the first volume of the Aldine edition of the *Oratores Graeci* (1513). The editio princeps of Robertus Stephanus includes the *De Isocrate* and the *De Lysia*, as well as the three works mentioned on its title-page.

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H. Estienne. Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἁλικαρνασσέως πρὸς Γναῖον Πομπήιον ἐπιστολή. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀμμαῖον. *Dionysii Responsio ad Gn. Pompeii epistolam in qua ille de reprehenso ab eo Platonis stylo conquerebatur. Ejusdem ad Ammaeum epistola.—Alia praeterea, etc. Gr. Lutetiae,* 1554. This is the editio princeps of *De Antiq. Orat. Proem.*, of *Ep. ad Amm. I.*, and of *Ep. ad Pomp.* The excerpts from the *de Imit.* also contained in it were, according to L. Cohn (*Philologus* xlix. p. 391) printed by H. Stephanus from a manuscript now in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Gale Collection, O. 2. 12).

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In this connexion may be mentioned: *Dionysii Halicarnassei Scripta quae extant omnia, Historica et Rhetorica, nunc primum universa Latine edita: illa quidem olim per Gelenium sed ita modo interpolata per F. Sylburgium ut pene nova versio dici queat. 2 tom. Lat. Hanoviae,* 1615.—In 1643 some of the Rhetorical Works of Dionysius were published at Venice in the series *Degli autori del bene parlare,* and in 1644 (also at Venice) in the series *Opera Graecorum, Latinorum et Italorum Rhetorum.*

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cum notis integris F. Sylburgii, his accesserunt S. Bircovii exempla Latina. Londini, 1702.

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William Holwell (1726—1798) of Christ Church, Oxford, was proctor in 1758, vicar of Thornbury from 1762, and prebendary of Exeter from 1776. As his book, which contains some good emendations, is (with the possible exception of Hudson's edition of the collected works) the most considerable direct contribution made by English scholarship to the study of the *Scripta Rhetorica* of Dionysius, the following extract from his Address to the Reader may be found of interest: "Textum habes, uti spero, accuratum; pluribusque in locis emendatum; rationibus tamen fere semper allatis, quibus innixus, vel a Vulgata recessi, vel saltem recedendum putavi. Interpretationem quod attinet, ea quidem mendis scatet haud paucis, et nimis saepe Auctoris mentem perturbat, vel in contrarium torquet. Hanc suae editioni Oxon. inserendam curavit cl. Hudsonus, magnisque, quod miror, laudibus effert. Novam autem condere minime vacabat; sed et respuit Ingenium. Optimus interea sui ipsius Interpres Dionysius. Nonnulla tamen loca cum in Lexico, tum in Notis, magis ad Auctoris mentem forsan explicata invenies, ne omnia, laboris fuga, intacta viderentur. Si qua autem in parte longior fuerim, aut nimis obvia quaedam annotaverim, scias velim, me haec, *Studiosae Juventutis* potissimum causa, publici juris fecisse."

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INDICES.

The numbers refer to the pages of this edition.—The Table of Contents on p. xiii, and the occasional use of thick type in the Introductory Essay, are intended to supply the place of an Index of Matters. For Dionysius' part in the prolonged contest between 'Atticism' and 'Asianism,' see especially pp. 43–46 supra.

I. INDEX OF NAMES.

Aelian 166
Aeschines 20, 22, 41, 54, 84, 201
Aeschylus 18
Aesculapius 60
Agathon 66, 165
Alcaeus Preface x, 19
Alcidamas 41, 54
Alcmaeon 84, 167
Alexander of Macedon 43, 60, 82
Alexander (father of Dionysius) 1
Alexandria 42
Ammaeus 3, 6, 25, 38, 43, 52, 130, 164
Ammon 217
Anacreon 18
Anaximenes 41, 54
Androtion 56
Anticles 84, 163
Antimachus 18
Antiphon 13, 18, 41, 54
Aphrodite 18, 46
Apollodorus 164
Arbela 82
Archias 70, 163
Aristocrates 58
Aristodemus 58, 162
Aristophon 82, 163
Aristotle 16 n. 1, 19, 25, 26, 40, 52 ff., 60 (Life), 96, 161–163, 165 ff., 184 ff.
Arnaud 29
Atarneus 60
Athenaeus 168
Augustus 2

Bassi 37
Batteux 211
Baudat 217
Becker 214
Bender 215
Bertrand 202
Blass 7, 10, 23, 182, 202, 215
Bluemner 185
Bosanquet 202
Brasidas 138
Brzoska 202
Busse 214
Butcher 188

Caecilius 36, 37, 114, 219
Callimachus (of Alexandria) 42
Callimachus (Athenian archon) 26, 58, 68, 162

Callistratus 56, 162
Calpurnius 3
Candaules 10
Caria 44
Carroll 218
Castellani 217
Cato 3
Cephisodorus 41, 54, 60, 96, 163, 168
Cephisodotus 66
Chaeroneia 82
Chalcis 60, 62
Chares 66, 68
Charidemus 68
Charon 106, 171
Cicero 29, 30, 36
Cobet 216
Cohn 210, 217
Corcyra, 108
Cornificius 29, 37, 200
Croesus 112
Croiset 20, 182, 213
Ctesias 13
Ctesiphon 84
Cynossema 108
Cyrus 112, 116

Danae, 19, 46
Deinarchus 20, 24, 25
Demetrius (*of Calantis*) 3
Demetrius (*Magnes*) 42
Demetrius (*Phal.*) 42, 96, 98
Demetrius (π. ἑρμ.) 173, 178, 184, 187, 189, 190, 192
Demetrius (*inc.*) 38, 104
Democritus 19
Demosthenes 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 23, 25, 26, 36, 41, 52 ff. (with footnotes), 90, 161–163
Desrousseaux 213
Dindorf 215
Diodorus 56, 58, 197
Diogenes Laertius 171, 194
Dionysius of Halicarnassus. See Table of Contents (p. xiii supra) and Index II.
Dionysius Thrax 186, 204
Diopeithes 72
Diotimus 58, 162
Diotrephes 60, 161
Dodwell 168
Dudith 210
Duebner 214
Durtnall 212

Egger, Max 213
Eleusis 19
Empedocles 18
Ephorus 18
Epicurus 46
Epicureans 42
Eubulus 60, 72, 163
Euripides 18, 40, 98
Euthycles 58
Evaenetus 60, 163

Fabius Maximus 3
Forbes 178, 182
Fuhr 217

Galen 187
Goeller 212
Gomperz 216
Gorgias 41, 94, 98, 100, 102, 136, 156
Gregorius Corinthius 178, 181
Greilich 217
Gros 212
Gyges 10

Hanow 213
Hegesias 3, 12, 45
Hellanicus 106, 171
Heller 215
Heracleides 3
Hermias 60
Hermogenes 206
Herodotus 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 19, 104 ff.
Herwerden Preface ix, 213
Hesiod 18
Hesse 216
Hesychius 178, 180
Heydenreich 218
Hieronymus 3
Hippias 94
Hippodamas 96, 169

Holwell 211
Homer 10, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 45, 46, 94
Horace 35
Hudson 211
Hyperides 20, 22, 41, 54

Ilovius 210
Iphicrates 74, 166
Isaeus 20, 22, 41, 54
Isocrates 18, 20, 21, 22, 41, 42, 46, 54, 90, 124

Jacoby 211, 216
Jahn 215
Jebb Preface viii, 18, 20, 42, 190, 205, 206

Kaibel 174, 217
Kiessling 164, 215
Knuth 37, 217
Krueger 212, 214

Leuschner 214
Licinius Macer 3
Licymnius 136, 176
Liers 217
Livy 35
Loers 214
'*Longinus*' 36, 37, *passim*
Lucian 33, 175
Lyciscus 72, 163
Lycurgus 41, 54
Lysias 20, 21, 22, 24, 92, 94
Lysimachides 76, 78, 163

Machaon 60
Manzi 212
Marcellinus 176, 177, 181
Mathews Preface ix
Matthaei 214
Meidias 60, 162, 164
Melitius, Rufus 2, 3, 8, 34
Mestwerdt 215
Meusel 511
Morawski 217
Mores 212
Mysia 44

Mytilene 60

Naber 215
Nettleship 37, 202
Nicanor 84, 167
Nicomachus (*father of Aristotle*) 60
Nicomachus (*archon*) 72
Norden 185

Parmenides 94
Pergamus 42
Pericles 66, 166
Peripatetics 25, 26, 42
Peterson 37
Phaestus 60
Philip of Macedon 58, 60
Philiscus 41, 54
Philistus 118, 120, 174
Philochorus 25, 26, 68, 166
Philodemus 203
Philostratus 193
Photius 180
Phrygia 44
Phylarchus 3
Phyle 110
Pindar 18, 110
Plato 16, 19, 27–30, 36, 41, 46, 47, 60, 88 ff.
Pliny the younger 171
Plutarch 36, 186
Polus 94, 136
Polybius 3, 33
Polyzelus 60, 161
Pompeius (*Cn. Pompeius Geminus*) 3, 34, 38, 88, 102, 168
Porson Preface x
Poynton 218
Prodicus 94, 168
Protagoras 94, 168
Proteus 23
Psaon 3
Purser 201, 202
Pylus 138
Pythodotus 60, 72, 163

Quintilian 36, 37

Rabe 7, 218

Radermacher Preface ix, 49, 213, 218
Reiske 211
Roessler 213
Rohde 217
Rome 2, 3, 34, 35
Rouse Preface ix

Sadée 216, 217
Sadous 5, 214
Sandys Preface ix, 24, 187, 197, 199, 200, 202, 208
Sappho 18, 46
Sauppe 215
Schaefer, A. 166, 167, 215
Schaefer, G. H. 212
Schenkl 217
Schlegel 212
Schmid 183
Schmitz 215
Schoell 216
Schott 212
Seeliger 216
Simonides Preface x, 18, 19, 46
Smith, C. F. 177
Sophocles 19
Sosigenes 72, 163
Spengel 38
Stageira 60
Steinthal 191, 204
Stephanus, H. 210
Stephanus, R. 209
Stesichorus, 19, 56, 164
Stoics 39, 42
Strabo 1, 36
Sturm 210
Sylburg 210

Tennyson Preface x, 183
Theellus 58, 162, 164
Themistocles 70, 163
Theodectes 41, 54
Theodorus 41, 54, 94
Theophilus 60, 70, 162
Theophrastus 42
Theophrastus (*archon*) 72, 76, 163
Theopompus 18, 96, 120–126, 174, 175, 206
Thomas 218
Thrasymachus 41, 54, 94
Thucydides 12, 13, 16, 18, 29, 30–34, 47, 48, 100, 104 ff., 130 ff.
Thudemus 58, 162
Timaeus 3
Timocrates 58, 162
Timocrates (*archon*) 56, 162
Tubero, Q. Aelius 3, 34, 130, 175
Tyrrell 174, 201, 202

Upton 210
Usener Preface ix, 49, 213, 215

Valerius Antias 3
Victorius 210
Vliet 216
Volkmann 191, 192, 199

Warren, 176, 178, 218
Weil Preface ix, 213, 218
Weismann 214
Wichmann 216
Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 216, 218
Wilkins 174, 195, 196, 198
Wolcott 177
Woodhouse Preface ix
Wyse 218

Xenophon 13, 29, 116, 118, 173
Xerxes 112

Zeno 38, 88, 168
Zoilus 48, 90, 96, 168
Zucker 216

II. INDEX OF PASSAGES.

This Index of Passages is a list of references made in the pages of the Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, to chapters of the various Rhetorical Works of Dionysius (exclusive of the *Three Literary Letters* and of the *Ars Rhetorica*, for which last see p. 5, n. 1 supra). Pages in Arabic, chapters in Roman characters.

De Compositione c. i. 7, 8, 9, 34, 184
c. ii. 9, 10, 40, 41, 42, 185, 204
c. iii. 10, 46, 207
c. iv. 3, 4, 11, 12, 39, 42, 169
c. v. 13, 192
c. vi. 13
c. vii. 13, 197
c. viii. 13, 207
c. ix. 13
c. x. 13
c. xi. 13, 14, 193
c. xii. 15, 46, 194
c. xiv. 15, 42
c. xv. 17, 46
c. xvi. 17, 40, 41, 42, 205
c. xvii. 16, 17, 197
c. xviii. 16, 28, 45, 189
c. xix. 42, 184
c. xx. 2, 18, 46
c. xxi. 18
c. xxii. 18, 42, 176, 181, 186, 201, 205
c. xxiii. 18, 46, 196, 201
c. xxiv. 19, 46, 184
c. xxv. 18, 19, 23, 40, 46, 169, 207
c. xxvi. 18, 19, 46, 194
De Antiquis Oratoribus, Proem. c. i. 44
c. ii. 44
c. iii. 35
c. iv. 7, 19, 39
De Lysia
c. ii. 21
c. iii. 195
c. vi. 42, 201, 205
c. vii. 21, 190
c. viii. 21, 185, 194
c. ix. 21
c. xi. 21
c. xii. 5, 24, 166, 192
c. xiii. 21, 205
c. xiv. 5, 24, 42, 200
c. xv. 201
c. xix. 202
c. xx. 39
c. xxiv. 194
De Isocrate c. i. 184
c. ii. 21, 169, 185, 205
c. iii. 42, 187
c. iv. 21, 42
c. v. 184
c. vii. 21
c. xi. 47, 195
c. xii. 21, 41, 42, 195
c. xiii. 40
c. xv. 184
c. xviii. 168
De Isaeo c. i. 40
c. ii. 5, 24
c. vi. 42
c. vii. 194
c. xiv. 43
c. xvi. 22, 192
c. xviii. 22, 41, 184
c. xix. 41, 168, 200
c. xx. 7, 22, 41, 168, 184, 194
De Hyperide 20, 22
De Aeschine 20, 22
De adm. vi dic. in Demosthene c. i. 48, 189
c. ii. 22, 184, 187, 193
c. iii. 41, 42
c. iv. 187, 189
c. v. 27, 28, 40, 42, 169

c. vi. 27, 28, 169
c. vii. 169
c. viii. 23, 168, 186, 191, 196, 201
c. x. 183
c. xi. 193
c. xiii. 42, 167, 189, 192
c. xiv. 23
c. xvi. 22
c. xviii. 22, 189, 205
c. xix. 205
c. xx. 22
c. xxii. 23, 24
c. xxiii. 28, 36, 184, 194, 203
c. xxiv. 42
c. xxv. 46, 191
c. xxvi. 176
c. xxvii. 184, 194
c. xxix. 28
c. xxx. 184
c. xxxii. 7, 28, 29
c. xxxiv. 193, 205
c. xxxv. 40, 201
c. xxxvi. 184
c. xxxvii. 205
c. xxxix. 201
c. xli. 192
c. xlii. 184
c. xliii. 205
c. xliv. 184, 186
c. xlv. 184
c. xlvi. 176
c. xlviii. 41, 42, 186
c. xlix. 8
c. lv. 201
c. lvi. 191
c. lvii. 167
c. lviii. 5, 8

De Imitatione (*De Veterum Censura*)
Lib. II. c. iii. 173, 174
c. v. 22

De Dinarcho c. i. 6, 22, 39, 42, 161
c. ii. 42, 195
c. vi. 22, 192
c. vii. 22, 191, 192
c. viii. 29
c. ix. 161
c. xi. 42
c. xii. 42
c. xiii. 5, 25

De Thucydide c. i. 5, 33, 205
c. ii. 7, 48, 168
c. iv. 48
c. v. 41, 192
c. vi. 32, 33
c. vii. 33
c. viii. 33
c. ix. 33
c. xiii. 33
c. xvi. 171
c. xviii. 33
c. xx. 33
c. xxi. 32
c. xxii. 195
c. xxiii. 172, 188
c. xxiv. 30
c. xxv. 29, 32, 175
c. xxvi. 32
c. xxvii. 32
c. xxix. 32, 182
c. xxx. 183
c. xxxi. 194.
c. xxxiv. 188, 195
c. xxxvii. 194
c. xlviii. 180
c. l. 47, 184, 185
c. li. 41, 47, 186
c. lii. 164
c. liii. 188, 205
c. liv. 191
c. lv. 29, 32

III. INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

The references are to the pages of the Introduction, Glossary, and Notes.

A

ἀγένειος, 9
ἀγοραῖος, 47
ἀγωγή, 47, 184
ἀγών, 184
ἀγωνιστής, 184
αἰτιατικός, 184
ἀκατάλληλος, 184
ἀκολουθία, 184
ἀκραιφνής, 177
ἀκρίβεια, 21
ἀκριβής, 184
ἀκριβοῦν, 184
ἀληθινός, 21, 24
ἀλληγορία, 184
ἀμφίβραχυς, 16
ἀνάγωγος, 44
ἀναισθησία, 45
ἀνακωχή, 177
ἀναλογία, 165, 184
ἀνάπαιστος, 16
ἀνάπαυσις, 185
ἀνθηρός, 18
ἀνύητος, 35
ἀντίθεσις, 185
ἀντίθετον, 185
ἀντικατηγορεῖν, 185
ἀντιμετάταξις, 185
ἀντονομαστικός, 185
ἀξιοῦν, 179
ἀξίωμα, 194
ἀπαγγέλλειν, 185
ἀπειροκαλία, 185
ἀπειρόκαλος, 185
ἀπηρχαιωμένος, 185
ἀπίθανος, 185
ἀποδεικτικός, 175
ἀπολητος, 185, 193
ἀποστρέφειν, 185
ἀποστροφή, 185
ἀποτείνειν, 185
ἀποτείχισις, 175
ἀρετή, 20, 172
ἄρθρον, 185
ἁρμονία, 10, 11, 18, 186
ἀρρενικός, 186
ἀρχαιολογία, 3
ἀρχαιοπρεπής, 186
ἀρχαιότης, 186
ἄσιγμος, 16
ἀσχημάτιστος, 186
Ἀτθίς, 186
αὐθάδης, 186
αὐθέκαστος, 186
αὖρα, 169
αὐστηρός, 18, 186
αὐτοπάθεια, 24
αὐχμός, 186
ἀφελής, 18, 187
ἄφωνος, 15
ἀχθηδών, 178

B

βαίνειν, 11
βακχεῖος, 16
βάραθρον, 44
βάρος, 172, 194
βέβηλος, 19
βιωτικός, 10
βούλεσθαι, 187
βουλόμενον, 180
βραχύς, 15

Γ

γενεά, 168
γενικός, 187
γένος, 187
γεωργός, 10

γλαφυρός, 18
γλυκύτης, 193
γλῶττα, 187
γλωττηματικός, 187
γνήσιος, 24
γοητεύειν, 14
γράμμα, 15
γραμματική, 47
γραμματικός, 42
γραφικός, 187

Δ

δάκτυλος, 11, 16
δασύς, 15
δεινότης, 7, 187
δημηγορεῖν, 188
δημηγορία, 188
δημηγορικός, 188, 203
δημόσιος, 188
διαίρεσις, 33
διάλεκτος, 11, 21, 188
διάνοια, 21
διασαλεύω, 13
διατίθεσθαι, 188
διαυγής, 188
διδασκαλία, 165
διδασκαλικός, 175, 188
διήγημα, 188
διήγησις, 22, 188
διθύραμβος, 188
δικαίωσις, 178
δικανικός, 189
δίχρονος, 15
δοτικός, 189
δραστήριος, 189
δυνάμενον, 180
δύναμις, 189
δυσείκαστος, 189
δυσεξέλικτος, 189
δυσπαρακολούθητος, 189

Ε

ἐγκατάσκευος, 28, 189
ἐγκύκλιος, 47
ἐγκώμιον, 191
εἰκότα, 189
εἰσαγωγή, 189
ἔκδοσις, 189
ἐκλογή, 9, 20, 28, 189
ἐκμάττειν, 189
ἐκμέλεια, 14
ἐλευθέριος, 47
ἑλληνίζειν, 190
Ἑλληνικός, 166
ἐμβρίθης, 177, 190
ἐμμελής, 15
ἔμμετρος, 40, 190
ἐναλλαγή, 190
ἐναλλάσσειν, 180
ἐνάργεια, 28, 172, 190
ἐνεργητικός, 190
ἐνθουσιᾶν, 24
ἐνθύμημα, 190
ἐνθυμηματικός, 190
ἐνικός, 191
ἔνρυθμος, 15
ἐντετευχώς, 167
ἔντευξις, 165
ἐξαλλαγή, 191
ἐξάπους, 11
ἐξεργασία, 33
ἐξηλλαγμένος, 18, 191
ἐπαγωγή, 191
ἐπαγωγικός, 11
ἔπαινος, 191
ἐπιδεικτικός, 175
ἐπιδίφριος, 47
ἐπίθετον, 191
ἐπίθετος, 172, 191
ἐπικίνδυνος, 11
ἐπιλογισμός, 177
ἐπιμιγνύναι, 179
ἐπιτάφιος, 192
ἐπιτρέχειν, 192
ἐπιτροχάδην, 192
ἐπιχείρημα, 192
ἐπιχείρησις, 192
ἐπιχώριος, 180
ἑρμηνεία, 21, 28, 47, 192
ἑρμηνεύειν, 10, 23, 29
ἐτυμολογία, 41
εὐηχος, 15
εὐμέλεια, 28
εὐμελής, 15
εὐπαίδευτος, 192
εὐπαρακολούθητος, 189

εὕρεσις, 9, 20, 195
εὐρυθμία, 14, 28, 192
εὔρυθμος, 15
εὐστομία, 192, 193
εὐτελής, 10, 15, 193
εὔφωνος, 15

H

ἡγεμών, 16
ἡδονή, 9, 13, 193
ἠθοποιΐα, 21
ἦθος, 164, 193
ἡμίφωνος, 15
ἡρωϊκός, 11

Θ

θαλαττουργός, 10
θεατρικός, 193
θηλυκός, 193
θορυβεῖν, 14
θρυλιγμός, 14

I

ἴαμβος, 16
Ἰάς, 193
ἰδίωμα, 193
ἰδιότης, 14
ἴλαρός, 193
ἰσχνός, 193
ἰσχύς, 193

K

καθαρός, 21, 172, 193
καινότης, 193
καινοτομεῖν, 40
καινουργεῖν, 46
καιρός, 46
κακοῦργος, 193
καλλιεπεῖν, 193
καλλιλογία, 193
καλός, 13, 193
κανών, 21, 194
καταβολή, 178
καταδρομή, 194
κατάλληλος, 194
κατασκευάζειν, 194
κατασκευή, 194
κατημαξευμένος, 39
κατορθοῦν, 194
κατόρθωμα, 7
κοινός, 15, 18, 194
κοινότης, 195
κομψός, 21, 195
κόρος, 195
κορωνίς, 3, 4
κράτος, 9
κρητικός, 16
κρίθινος, 24
κρίσις, 9, 28
κροῦσις, 14
κυκλικός, 195
κύριος, 9, 195
κῶλον, 10
κωλύειν, 179
κωλύμη, 177

Λ

λάλος, 195
λεκτικός, 9, 20, 195
λέξις, 18, 195
λεπτός, 196
λῆμμα, 196
λιγυρός, 196
λιτός, 10, 18, 196
λόγος, 196

M

μακρός, 15
μεγαλοπρέπεια, 172, 194
μεγαλοπρεπής, 196
μειρακιώδης, 196
μελαίνειν, 196
μέλλων, 196
μέλος, 13
μέρος, 196
μέσος, 15
μεταβολή, 13, 15, 196
μεταφορά, 196
μετοχή, 196
μετοχικός, 196
μετωνυμία, 197
μιαρός, 15
μῖγμα, 197
μικτός, 18
μίμησις, 29
μνήμη, 195
μολοττός, 16

μόριον, 197
μυστήριον, 19

N

νόημα, 9, 21, 197
νοῦς, 197

Ξ

ξενικός, 197
ξένος, 197

O

ὄγκος, 198
οἰκονομία, 9, 20, 33, 198
ὀλόφυρσις, 175
ὁμαλός, 22
ὁμοειδής, 198
ὁμοειδία, 198
ὁμοιοκάταρκτον, 199
ὁμοιοτέλευτον, 199
ὄνομα, 9, 198
ὀνοματικός, 198
ὀνοματικῶς, 198
ὄργανον, 198
οὐδέτερος, 198
ὄχλος, 180

Π

παθαίνειν, 22
παθητικός, 198
πάθος, 198
παιδιώδης, 199
παρηγυρικός, 199
παράδειγμα, 199
παραινεῖν, 179
παρακεκινδυνευμένος, 199
παράστημα, 24
παρέκτασις, 17
παρεμβολή, 199
παρέμπτωσις, 199
παρεξειρεσία, 179
παρίσωσις, 182, 199
παρομοίωσις, 182, 199, 200
παρονομασία, 199, 200
παρών, 200
παχύς, 200
παχύτης, 45
πεζός, 200
παθώ, 9, 200
πεποιημένος, 200
περίεργος, 201
περίζωμα, 48
περίοδος, 10, 201
περιοχή, 201
περιττολογία, 201
περιττός, 18, 28, 196, 197, 201
περίφρασις, 201
περιωπή, 177
πιθανός, 193, 201
πικρός, 22, 201
πικρότης, 201
πίναξ, 42
πίνος, 201
πίστις, 202
πλάσμα, 11, 202
πληθυντικός, 202
ποιητικός, 202
ποικίλλω, 202
πολιτικός, 7, 44, 203
πολύμορφος, 203
πολύπλοκος, 203
πολυτροπία, 203
πομπικός, 203
πονηρία, 22
πούς, 16
πραγματικός, 9, 20, 203
πρέπον, 13, 21, 203
πρεπώδης, 204
πρέσβευσις, 178
πρόθεσις, 204
προθετικός, 204
προοίμιον, 204
προσηγορία, 204
προσηγορικός, 204
προσυλακτεῖν, 48
πρόσωπον, 204
προτιμᾶν *c. genit.*, 181 (reference to *Classical Review*)
πτῶσις, 204
πυκνός, 204
πυρρίχιος, 16

P

ῥῆμα, 204
ῥηματικός, 204
ῥητορική, 5, 204

ῥητόρων παῖδες, 42
ῥυθμός, 13, 14, 16, 21, 45
ῥυπαρός, 15

Σ

σαφήνεια, 172, 173, 204
σελίς, 45
σεμνολογία, 172, 194
σημαίνειν, 204
σημασία, 205
σημεῖον, 205
σημειώδης, 205
σημείωσις, 205
σκληραγωγέω, 183
σκληρός, 205
σκολιός, 205
σολοικίζειν, 205
σολοικισμός, 205
σοφιστικός, 203
σπονδεῖος, 16
στριφνός, 205
στρογγύλος, 205
συγγραφεύς, 205
σύγκρισις, 36, 205
συλλαβή, 205
συλλογισμός, 205
συμβουλευτικός, 206
συμπλοκή, 175, 206
συναγωγή, 206
συνδετικός, 206
συνήθεια, 206
συνήθης, 206
σύνθεσις, 8, 9, 10, 18, 20
σύνθετος, 18
σύνταξις, 206
συντάττεσθαι, 164, 206
συντομία, 172, 206
συριγμός, 16
συστρέφειν, 206
σχῆμα, 206
σχηματίζειν, 206
σχηματισμός, 207
σῶμα, 207

T

τάξις, 33, 195
ταπεινός, 10, 15
τάραχος, 180
τελετή, 19
τελέτης, 169
τέλος, 174
τέρψις, 172, 207
τέχνη, 207
τεχνικός, 207
τεχνογράφος, 43
τόνος, 207
τοπικός, 176
τόπος, 9, 20, 207
τραχύς, 22, 207
τρίβραχυς, 16
τροπικός, 9, 207
τροχαῖος, 16
τύπος, 207

Y

ὑγρός, 22
ὑποβακχεῖος, 16
ὑπόθεσις, 207
ὑποθήκη, 207
ὑπόκρισις, 195
ὑπομνηματισμός, 207
ὑψηλός, 28, 208
ὕψος, 208

Φ

φησίν, 168
φιλάνθρωπος, 208
φιλόσοφος, 44, 45, 208
φιλοτεχνεῖν, 46 (cp. φιλοτεχνία, p. 197)
φοβερός, 208
φορτικός, 208
φράσις, 9, 208
φυγαδικός, 164
φωνή, 15
φωνήεις, 15, 208

X

χαρακτήρ, 172, 208
χαριέντως, 22
χάρις, 21, 193
χειροτέχνης, 10, 47
χορεῖος, 16

χρόνος, 208
χρῶμα, 208

Ψ

ψευδεπίγραφος, 24
ψιλός, 15
ψόφος, 15
ψυχαγωγία, 208
ψυχρός, 208

Ω

ὥρα, 193

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BY THE SAME EDITOR.

Longinus on the Sublime. The Greek Text edited after the Paris Manuscript, with Introduction, Translation, Two Facsimiles, and Four Appendices (Textual, Linguistic, Literary, and Bibliographical). Cambridge University Press, 1899. Demy 8vo. 9*s*.

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